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ENGLAND

NEW FRANCE

JAMES DOUGLAS

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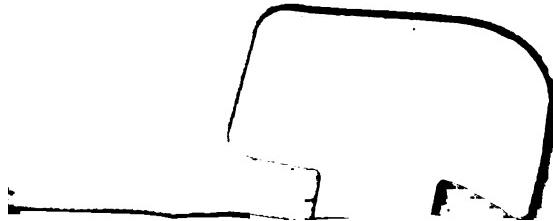
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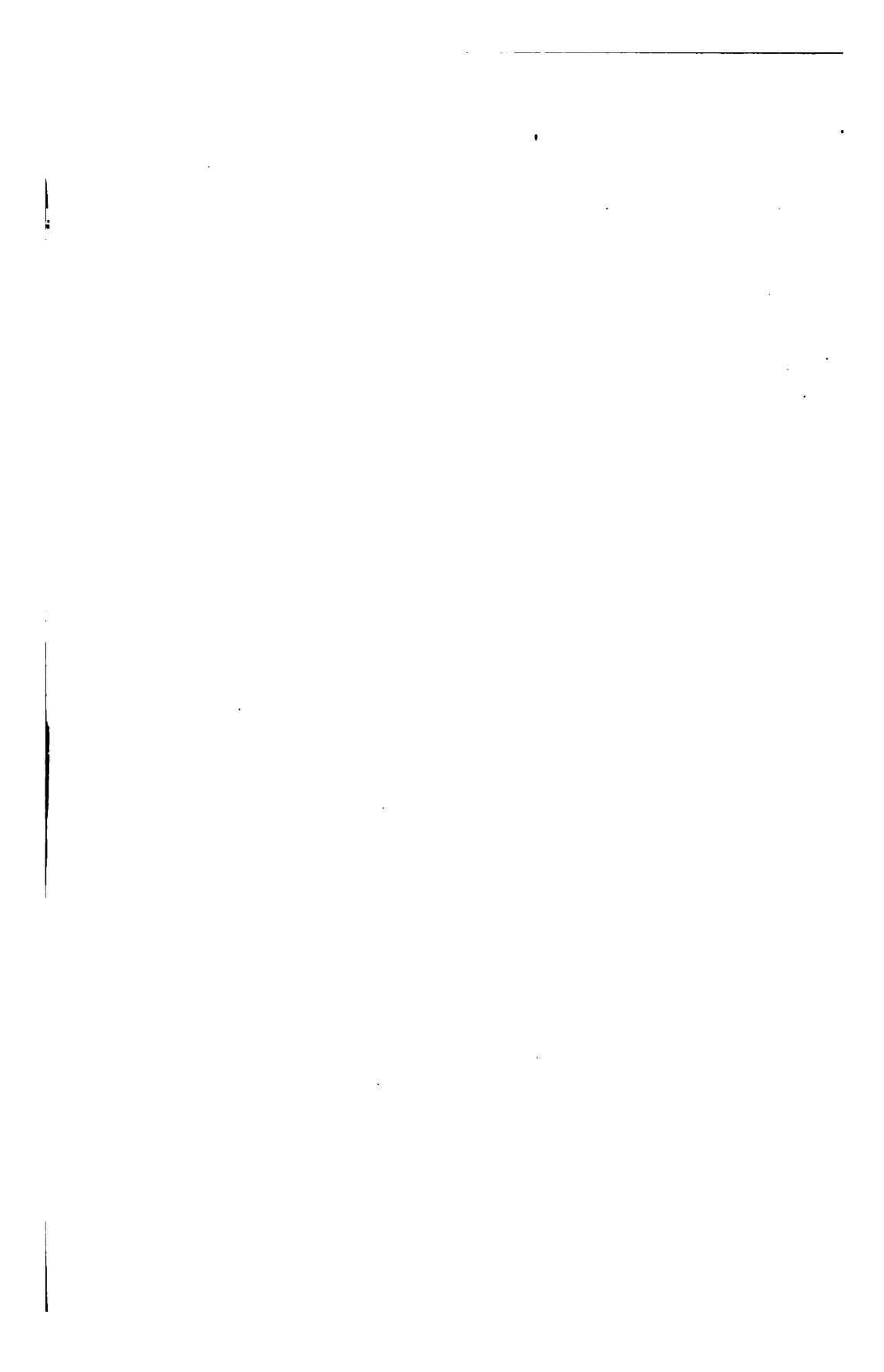


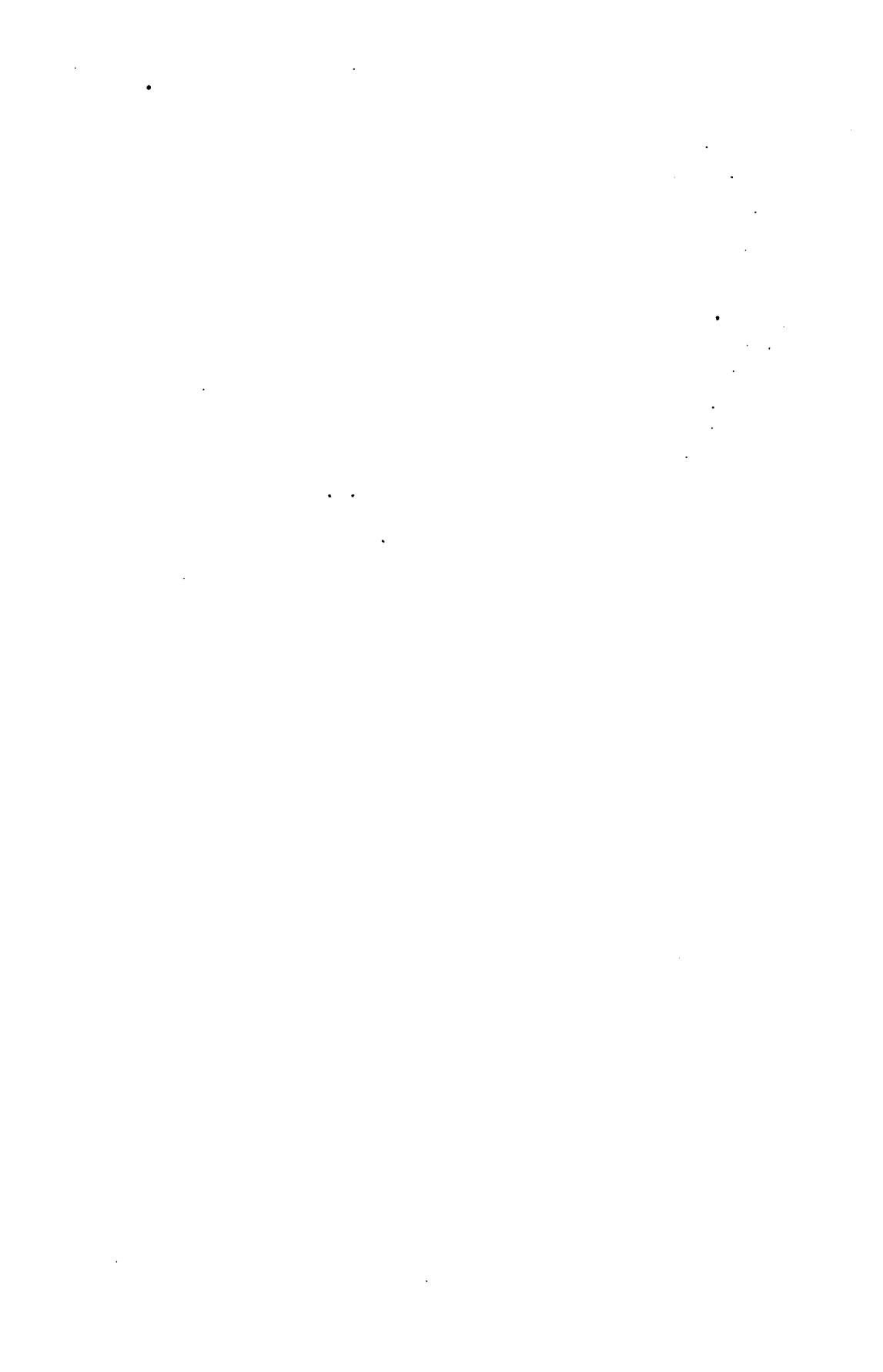
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John Cotton.

From an old copper print.

NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE

CONTRASTS AND PARALLELS
IN COLONIAL HISTORY

BY

JAMES McDUGLAS, LL.D.

Author of "The Seven Years' War,"
"Canada Under French Rule," etc.

WITH 45 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS,
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press

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PREFACE

In this attempt candidly to appreciate and describe the spirit of the two groups of colonists who were contending for the control of the North American continent, extracts from contemporary documents are largely used to illustrate the points of resemblance and difference in the methods and policy adopted by the neighbouring colonists, or permitted by the parent states to be practised by them. Certain phases, therefore, of colonial life are described in detail, out of proportion perhaps to their actual importance, because they illustrate such resemblances or differences. Champlain's own narrative is the most reliable record of the doings of France on the St. Lawrence during thirty years of the seventeenth century. Bradford's *Journal* describes with minute detail the social and economic growth of the Plymouth Colony; whereas, from the narrative written by Winthrop—the first Governor of the Bay State—we deduce the process by which was built up out of a trading company's charter, a Constitutional State. It expresses the spirit of independence which from the first possessed the colonists, their determination to resist any interference by the mother country, and the freedom with which they engaged in negotiations with their French neighbours, irrespective of the interest or the influence of the mother country. These different phases of colonial growth and policy are conspicuously illustrated in these two important

documents from which I have copied freely. I do not think I misrepresent the prevailing temper of the colonists in the extracts I have made.

I may be forgiven, if guilty of autopLAGIARISM, for borrowing so largely, in my chapters on New France, from my own published writings.

J. D.

NEW YORK, September, 1912.

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NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE

New England and New France

CHAPTER I

MOTIVES AND METHODS OF NORTH AMERICAN COLONISATION

[N the discovery of the North American continent, and in the exploitation of its resources, private enterprise has generally taken the lead of government initiative. It is, however, difficult to estimate the relative share of influence which should be assigned to these two forces; for while the acts of government are generally fully recorded, the enterprises of individuals or of private corporations in the development of trade in new territory are in most instances, for commercial reasons, sedulously concealed from publication. Certain expeditions are matters of history, such as those of John and Sebastian Cabot, made by command of Henry VII, on whose discoveries England founded her claim to Newfoundland and the northern coast of North America. Verrazano's voyage, made in the interest of France, gave France as shadowy a right to a large section of the continent. Cortereal's exploration in the same region, supported by Portugal, resulted in no territorial claim or contentions. Estevan Gomez, in the interest of Spain, as late as 1524, sailed south

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from Cape Breton in search of a passage to Cathay.¹ Jacques Cartier's three explorations, made in 1534-1535 and 1542, gave France undisputed possession of the St. Lawrence and its vast drainage area. Henry Hudson's discovery of the Hudson, and subsequently of Hudson Bay, had a distinctly historical influence. Even Frobisher's, Davis's, and other perilous voyages, made with the fruitless object of discovering a north-west passage, secured to England and her colonies rights over vast arctic tracts, conceived to be valueless, but which may hereafter prove to be quite the reverse.

Great as was the energy and lavish the money devoted to these national expeditions, they were trifling in comparison with what merchants and sailors, from commercial motives, then expended in discovery by land and sea.

Though fisher folk may not have preceded Cabot to Newfoundland, or Verrazano to the more southerly coast of the continent, they certainly soon followed; and brought back with them an abundant fund of information which passed from man to man, and gave the traders and seamen the knowledge they required to assist them in engaging in trade, the success of which was the main motive of colonisation. It is fair to assume that the few published narratives of North America, by the commercial class, describe a very insignificant part of the travelling done by enterprising merchants and hardy fishermen, who were attracted to the mainland and to its adjacent islands, from the Hudson to Labrador, by the inshore fishing and the trade in furs. When John Rut, in 1527, entered the harbour of St. John, he found in it eleven Norman, one Breton, and two Portuguese fishing vessels, but no

¹ For documents bearing on these early voyages, see Biggar's *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*.

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Englishmen. When in 1534 Cartier explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, most of the conspicuous features of northern and southern Newfoundland, and of the Labrador coast had already received distinctive names; but the south-western shores of the Island, the southern shore of the Gulf, and all of the upper St. Lawrence and its tributaries had been unexplored. His two first voyages in 1534 and 1535-1536 were made for discovery only. On his third, in 1541-1542, he was the forerunner of Roberval, who was commissioned to found the first European colony on the North American continent. He failed, and sixty-eight years elapsed before the experiment was repeated in the same region by Champlain, under de Monts, with partial success. But Cartier had blazed the trail, and intercourse by fur merchants with the Indians was conducted during the interval, as we infer from a letter, preserved by Hakluyt, written by Jacques Noël, Cartier's nephew, in 1553 to Moses Growte, correcting some inaccuracies on a certain map of North America, by reference to his own observations and to a map of his uncle's which he says has been lent to his two sons, Michael and John, then in Canada. The writer promises that if, on their return, he learned from them anything new, worth recording, he would communicate it. There is no reason to suppose that any of these traders extended their operations beyond Hochelaga, the limit of Cartier's explorations. They more generally confined them to the mouth of the Saguenay, for Tadousac was the great centre of Indian barter when Champlain founded his colony in 1608. It was then, no doubt, as Lake St. John now is, a rendezvous of the Algonquin tribes, who hunted for skins over the Labrador promontory and wandered north-westerly to the land of their distant kinsfolk, the Crees.

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According to Lescarbot, the said Jacques Noël and his relative, the Sieur de la Journaye, obtained from Henry III, in 1588, a monopoly of the fur trade, on condition of their establishing a colony in Canada. This commission, if really given, was cancelled before it expired, for Henry IV, in 1598, conferred the commission of King's Lieutenant, with all the high-sounding powers and privileges with which Roberval had been endowed, on Le Sieur Marquis de La Roche.

If ships navigated these dangerous waters, during this obscure period, little or nothing was published. So deficient is the average sailor in the historical instinct, that in the latter half of the sixteenth century a revolution, and probably a sanguinary Indian war, was being conducted under their eyes, on the upper St. Lawrence, by which one race of Indians was displaced by another, and yet not a hint of what really occurred has been preserved.

A few private adventurers have, however, left records of their observations. There accompanied Captain Gosnold on his voyage to the New England coast on the *Concord*, in 1602, a Mr. Brereton, who wrote a relation which proves that the coast was well known to traders and fishers. He found the Indians peaceably disposed; and some of them dressed in European clothes. After trading with the natives on the mainland and two of the large islands, presumably Martha's Vineyard and two of the Elizabeth group, Captain Gosnold left some of the members of the crew behind and sailed back with a full and profitable cargo to England.

Brereton's narrative possesses two features of special interest. He points out the peculiar advantages of these shores as a field for English colonisation.

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"Then to conclude, as we of all other nations are most fit for a discovery and planting in remote places; even so, under the heauens there is no place to be found so convenient for such a purpose; by reason of the temperature, commodities, apt fite for trade, and repair thither already of so many ships, which in any other frequented countrey, can not be procured in a man's age, nor with expense of halfe a million."¹

And he foresees that a highway to the East will be found, not through the north-west Arctic passage, but through the navigable waters, which, he assumes, rise in some mountain ranges in the heart of the continent, and flow in opposite directions, and whose sources would be connected for commerce by a portage of probably not over one hundred leagues.

He says: "For this we know alreadie, that great riuers haue beene discouered a thousand English miles into that continent of America; namely, that of S. Laurence or Canada. But not regarding miles more or lesse, most assuredly, that and other knownen riuers there, doe descend from the highest parts of mountaines, or middle of that continent, into our North sea, which is on the backe of that continent.

"For all mountaines haue their descents toward the seas about them, which are the lowest places and proper mansions of water: and waters (which are conteined in the mountaines, as it were in cisternes) descending naturally, doe alwaies resort unto the seas invironing those lands.

"Seeing them in nature this can not be denied, and by experience elsewhere is found to be so, I will shew

¹A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia, 1602. Reproduced in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, 3rd Series, VIII.

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how a trade may be disposed more commodiously into the South sea thorow these temperate and habitable regions, than by the frozen Zones in the supposed passages of North-west or North-east.

"Therefore foure Staple-places must be erected, when the most short and passable way is found; that is to say, two upon the North side, at the head and fal of the riuers; and two others on the South side, at the head and fal also of that other riuer.

"Provided, that ships may passe up those riuers unto the Staples, so farre as the same be nauigable into the land; and afterwards, that boats with flat bottomes may also passe so high and neere the heads of the riuers unto the Staples, as possibly they can, euen with lesse than two foot water, which can not then be far from the heads; as in the riuer Chagre.

"That necke or space of land betweene the two heads of the said riuers, if it be 100 leagues (which is not like) the commodities from the North and from the South sea brought thither, may wel be carried ouer the same upon horses, mules or beasts of that countrey apt to labour (as the elke or buffel) or by the aid of many Saluages accustomed to burdens; who shall stead us greatly in these affaires."

The author was correct in assuming that to our temperate zone the most energetic of mankind would be tempted, and his anticipations of the real highway to the East across our continent, by water and road, were almost prophetic.

France really preceded England, as a coloniser, when she proposed to transplant Frenchmen to the valley of the St. Lawrence under Roberval; but the English patent, by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, transferred to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his futile attempt to

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colonise Virginia, antedated La Roche's fatal enterprise. On the other hand, France really succeeded in planting colonists in l'Acadie and on the Maine coast four years before the Virginia Company established the colony of Jamestown in Virginia. Initial failure and initial success were equally divided between the two competing powers. Yet the dates of the foundation of the important, successful, permanent colonies are so close together that, were it not that we know the motives of each group to be so well defined and so diverse, we would judge that jealousy and rivalry were the moving impulses. De Monts's concession, under which Nova Scotia was first colonised, was dated 1603. The Virginia charter was signed in 1606, and the first colonists landed at Jamestown in 1609. Meanwhile Champlain, as De Monts's agent, established a fur-trading post at Quebec in 1608. The Pilgrims landed in Plymouth in 1620, and the first Puritans under Endicott came out in 1627. Thus originated within two decades competing commercial companies which developed into political organizations that for a century and a half contended for the control of trade, and later for the actual possession of the continent. If we regard the Maximilian invasion of Mexico as the dying effort of France to recover power and influence, we may extend the period of struggle to two centuries and a half.

When we analyse the methods of the two governments, we find that both used commercial companies to secure and hold additional territory for the nation, and to advance primarily the commerce of the parent state. But, from the first, the attitude of the two governments towards their colonists was diametrically different. This is made apparent in the condition of the charters given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh by England and to La Roche by France.

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The English colonists were allowed to manage their own internal affairs. They were treated as Englishmen merely transplanted to an expanded England, and expected to have the interests of the mother country at heart; while free to modify their laws so as to meet the altered conditions of their life. The French colonists were to be ruled by France, and by French officials, under feudal laws and traditions. The letters patent, issued in 1538 to Sir Humphrey Gilbert by Queen Elizabeth, recognised the right of the patentee to make "such statutes, laws and ordinances as shall be by him, the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assigns, or every and any of them, devised or established for the better government of the said people as aforesaid." Sir Humphrey did not avail himself of his privileges, but six years later Queen Elizabeth gave Walter Raleigh,¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert's half-brother, a patent, under which he and his heirs and assigns had full power to dispose of the lands which he might colonise, "in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the law of England, as neere as the same conveniently may be." Furthermore, the patent recognised that the colonists from the old country and those native born "shall and may have all the privileges of denizens and persons native of England and within our allegiance in such like form as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome or usage to the contrary notwithstanding;"² as a consequence, the patent conferred on Walter Raleigh, his heirs, etc., full power to make laws for "the better government of the said people. . . so always as the said statutes, lawes and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, to the forme of lawes of England."

¹ Hildreth, i., p. 80.

² Hakluyt, vol. ii., p. 280.

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Sir Walter at once took steps to execute the commission thus conferred on him, for Sir Richard Grenville conducted Ralph Lane's colony to Virginia in the following year. The plans all miscarried, but with the misfortunes of the Lane colonists and those of the subsequent John White expedition, we have not to deal.

Turning now to France, Henry III gave a concession to the Sieur de La Roche in 1598. The terms of the concession indicate already the pattern on which French colonies were to be constituted; and although his enterprise was a most unhappy failure, still, as foreshadowing the future policy of France in the New World, the terms of the deed are worth quoting. The document commences by recounting Francis I's effort to found a colony under Roberval, and his (Henry's) ambition to carry out his ancestor's project. To that end he confers on the Sieur de La Roche like powers and constitutes him Lieutenant-General of the said country of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the River of the Great Bay of Norembègue, and the land adjacent to the said provinces and rivers, which are of great length and extent, and nevertheless uninhabited by the subjects of Christian princes. Within the limits of his jurisdiction de La Roche is given authority to exercise ample civil and religious jurisdiction, to make laws, statutes, and ordinances, enforce obedience, punish or pardon delinquents, remit penalties; it being always understood that these powers are not to be exercised in any countries under control of any other prince or potentate who is a friend, ally, or confederate of France. In order to increase the goodwill, courage, and loyalty of those who shall take part in the said expedition, and likewise of those who shall remain in the country, there is conferred on him the power to cede portions of the land which he shall

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have acquired in the proposed exploration, with full rights of property to the persons on whom they shall be bestowed and to their successors, namely, gentlemen and those whom he shall judge to be persons of merit; such grants to be in the form of *fiefs, seigneuries, châtelainies, comtés, vicomtés, baronnies* and other dignities in fealty to the King as he may judge suitable to the particular services of each individual, on condition of their serving in the defence of the said countries. On others of meaner condition the land shall be conferred, subject to such charge and annual rent as he shall prescribe.

"Nevertheless," the commission adds, "our intention is that they shall be relieved from the payment of dues for the first six years, or for such other terms as our lieutenant shall deem right and necessary; but these exemptions are in no case to include freedom from military service. Also on the return of our said lieutenant he may distribute to others who have taken part in the voyage the gains and profits accruing from said enterprise, giving one third to those who make the voyage, retaining one third to cover his own costs and expenses; the other third to be applied to works for the common advantage, on fortifications, on the expenses of war; and that our lieutenant may be the better aided in the said enterprise, power is given him to seek the assistance of, and enlist in the army, all gentlemen, merchants and others, our subjects, in person or by representative, who wish to take part in the said voyage, to pay for crews or equipments, and to furnish ships at their own expense. But what we do forbid in express terms is that they trade without the knowledge or consent of our said lieutenant, under penalty of forfeiture of their goods and vessels on discovery of their crime."

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The commission was signed by Henry III on the 12th of January, 1598. It gave the concessionaire greater freedom of action than French colonists were subsequently allowed, but it imposed on them the feudal land tenure with all its embarrassing conditions.

Colonising through commercial companies, with concessions, was a cheap method of securing imperial expansion then and is practised to-day for the same reason. But now, as then, Great Britain interferes as little as possible with her colonists, and other European Powers regard a stricter control as necessary to imperial interests, both state and commercial. In fact, English colonies of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries originated in popular enterprises, were protected by the parent state, and endowed with certain constitutional rights. The colonies of France and other European Powers have generally been suggested by considerations of state, and have been bureaucratically governed by officials from headquarters.

As to the motives which actuated the colonists themselves: In one respect Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ruling passion, and that of his successors, differed from that of later colonial leaders. They hated the Spaniards, and therefore proposed to block Spanish expansion northward, by planting Englishmen as near as possible to the Spanish outposts. The later Virginia colonists had really no such controlling passion. The ostensible motive of the later English colonies was purely commercial. Their existence came about as follows:

Captain Waymouth, returning from one of the first fruitless attempts to solve the north-west passage problem, put into the mouth of the River Penmaquad (Gorges River) and carried off five natives. The Indians told such wonderful tales of the country, that an expedition under Captain Challons was sent out in

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1606, but he fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His friends, in their impatience, before they knew of his fate, despatched Captain Pringe in search of him. He returned without Captain Challons, but with such glowing accounts of the North American coast that Chief-Justice Popham and other influential men secured the patent of the Virginia Company. This authorised the establishment of two colonies, that of the south or of Virginia, under London mercantile patronage, and that of the north under the direction and the expected protection of West Country adventurers. The Londoners at once organised the Virginia Colony under Sir Thomas Gale, Sir George Summers, and others, and sent the first instalment of colonists to James River in 1609. The West Country Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants had already, in 1607, fitted out an expedition to New England under Captain Popham, which did some trading but no colonising.

The Virginia Company was a trading as well as a colonisation company, and both sections of it, the south and the north, began their active operations, as commercial corporations, expecting to share profits between English and colonial shareholders. In both instances the colonial shareholders soon absorbed the interests of their English partners, and the colonists, especially the New Englanders, became energetic merchants on their own account. The Plymouth colonists, after seven years of co-partnership, bought out their old England colleagues. The interest of the London Planters in Massachusetts Bay Company was as short lived. But the South Virginia Company, or Virginia Company proper, was a much more important commercial enterprise than either of the Massachusetts companies, for while a secondary motive of the Virginia undertaking may have been the curbing of

Spanish aggression, the primary object was money making. Moreover, neither the shareholders in England, the adventurers, the planters, nor the casual emigrants were moved by religion or by any high controlling emotion to subscribe money or jeopardise their lives in the venture. A broadside published by Brown, in *The Genesis of the United States* reads like a modern prospectus,¹ inviting subscriptions to the stock, and tempting emigrants to migrate by offering fictitious allurements.²

According to Wodenoth³ the subscriptions to the company in 1609, presumably the original subscriptions, by "worthy patriots, lords, Knights and gentlemen, merchants and others," amounted to £200,000. But by 1624 the London Company was bankrupt and was dissolved by Act of Parliament. It had been reorganised in 1619, when the communal tenure of land was replaced by individual ownership, as had taken place in New Plymouth after even a shorter experience of the communistic system.

In 1620 the Pilgrims and their friends used this same Virginia patent to colonise north Virginia, but were endowed with more explicit, or, as some writers consider, more ambiguous powers, by an additional instrument under the hand of James I. The Puritan exodus followed in 1627-28. After trying the experiment of partnership in co-operative commercial enterprises, and involving themselves in embarrassment and much vexation of spirit, the Pilgrims and their brothers of

¹ A. Brown's *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. i., p. 248.

² General Archives of Simancas, Department of State. Copy of a document on the cover of which is said: "To be sent to H. M. the King." Inclosed in the letter of Don Pedro Zuniga, dated March 5 (February 23). Concerning the Plantation of Virginia, New Britain.

³ A. Brown's *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. i., p. 51.

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the Bay developed, in spite of imperial repressive regulations, an extensive and remunerative foreign trade. They took to the sea; the southern planters took to the land.

Self was, nevertheless, not the lure of the Puritans. Both the Pilgrims and the Puritans looked to trade under the charter, for their support, and they proved to be very keen merchants. But they left the mother country, not for the purpose of money making, but to secure territory, far from England's control, on which to propagate their own religious notions and found separate states on theocratic lines, under a system of theocratic statecraft. They therefore interpreted their charter more liberally than did the Virginia colonists, the great body of whom felt no reluctance to the appointment of a royal governor.

The English settlers, who emigrated to Massachusetts and Connecticut, may have stretched the intention of their charters, liberal as they were under any interpretation. They were smarting under what they considered as ecclesiastical tyranny; and though opposition to the political encroachments of the Stuarts had not yet assumed organic shape in England, the spirit of the Commonwealth was already brewing, and that spirit from first to last actuated the Separatists of New Plymouth and the Puritans of the Bay. They, and their fathers before them, had been accustomed to a certain measure of self-government—more than that possessed by any people but the Dutch—and they were jealous of the slightest suspicion of any approach to state encroachment.

The course of English history had for centuries been toward popular government. As the Great Council of the Norman Kings grew into the English Parliament, the power of the barons shrunk and the kings were

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forced to rely on their people for money. When Edward the First submitted to the Great Councils of the Estates of the Realm, composed of the burgesses of the towns, in 1265, the right of the people alone to vote supplies was acknowledged, and the foundation was laid of the edifice which Charles I tried in vain to overthrow. They were the descendants of the Englishmen of the thirteenth century who brought to this continent in the seventeenth century the traditions and habits of their ancestors. As the power of the purse controls peace or war, through the expenditures on the army and navy, self-government inevitably follows such control.

Whether, therefore, the territorial charters, with which, as individuals or as corporations, they were endowed, conferred on them the right of self-government, the settlers under these charters assumed it. But, in fact, the English kings recognised in the instruments they issued, this inherited tendency of their subjects who settled beyond the sea.

Educated to such habits and inflamed with the progressive aspirations of the age, before even they left England, and still more when they landed on the North American shore, far from central control, they irresistibly proceeded to carry into practice ideas which heretofore had not received expression. Breathing, as we ourselves do, the stimulating atmosphere of a new continent, with all its incalculable possibilities, we must judge of their apparent inconsistencies by the changes in the point of view, which so rapidly occur in the opinions and actions of men who migrate in our own day from the Eastern to the Western sections of the United States or Canada. Aspirations and theories, which were nebulous and impracticable in old and stereotyped communities, seem quite the reverse to

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those who, free from the trammels of old statutes, think themselves able to reconstitute society and the world.

The inherited instincts and habits of Frenchmen were the reverse of those of Englishmen—hence the matter-of-fact way with which the French colonists submitted to the bureaucratic rule of the mother country.

The only attempts at independent colonisation by Frenchmen were those made by the Huguenots at the instigation of Admiral Coligny. Had Coligny selected the shores of Northern North America, instead of Brazil and Florida, as a refuge for the Huguenots, it is possible that a voluminous stream of discontented Frenchmen with republican notions and acute clerical hatred, might have flowed into the St. Lawrence Valley. Such an element, even though French, might have framed a constitution for themselves; asserted and secured self-government, and carried on independent mercantile operations. Had this happened, the colonists of New France would probably have outstripped their eastern neighbours in political experiments—but it was not to be. We doubt, however, whether even French Huguenots, unused to self-government, could under any circumstances have built up a free state as substantial as that constructed by the Puritans of New England, considering the character of the people, their previous political history, and the attitude of the parent state toward its colonists. Spain promptly strangled Coligny's North American Colony.

The Puritans and Pilgrims used their freedom from European restraint to try experiments in statecraft and church government. Living on the sea, they engaged most vigorously in foreign commerce, and showed no inclination to push into the interior. The French, on the other hand, even if they had been allowed to engage

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in commerce with other countries than France, were frozen in on the upper St. Lawrence for half the year, and almost impelled to depend on the trade in peltries, which the great interior forests yielded. They, equally with the English, felt the intoxicating exhilaration of the New World, but responded differently.

The quest for furs determined therefore not only the drift of French trade but influenced or perhaps harmonised with the character of the people, and explains their resignation to arbitrary government and ecclesiastical supervision. The woods were free to those who fretted under either or both of these limitations of liberty, and thus the men who might have made trouble at the centres of population expended their energies and risked their lives in exploring the recesses of the continent. The reckless life of the frontiersman would have been abhorrent to the Puritan, but was congenial to the Frenchman.

France persisted in her policy of developing her colony and its resources through trading companies with monopolistic privileges. The New England and Virginia colonies tried the experiment of development through trading companies but, being free to continue or desist, abandoned it after very short experience. During the two centuries of French colonial rule there were organised, lived, and died a long procession of commercial companies, some with powers of government, others without, but all hampering private enterprise and restricting healthy growth. In 1540, a concession was made to Roberval which came to naught, and more than half a century elapsed before substantially the same terms were promised to La Roche, whose schemes miscarried more fatally than those of Roberval. But there followed him as promoters a succession of enterprising men,—most of them Huguenot merchants, who,

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as individuals, or under corporate organisation colonised l'Arcadie, traded with the Indians of the Lower St. Lawrence, founded Quebec, and made money; but did not fulfil the main condition of their contract—the conversion of the natives. When, however, the great Cardinal Richelieu became virtually ruler of France and colonial minister, he recognised the incongruity of the most Catholic Power developing her foreign domain by the agency of heretics, and therefore applied his great genius to the same task so many master minds have since undertaken—the formation of public companies.

The first company he proposed to organise, with the view of expanding the domestic and foreign commerce of France, never undertook active operation. It was the *Compagnie de Cent Associés ou de la rade et les îles Morbihan*.¹ It was conceived on a scale before which our biggest modern trusts shrink into insignificance. It was to enroll in its membership all the great merchants and manufacturers of France, who were to monopolise and manage the trade of the country on land and sea. An auxiliary company was to erect and endow schools of technology and navigation; and to build arsenals, factories, and dockyards. It was even to be endowed with certain judicial functions over trade. If the scheme had been carried out it would have more closely realised some of the dreams of state socialists than any experiments since tried, and yet the experimenter was one of the most ardent and successful advocates of autocracy—so nearly do extremes meet! Another projected company was *La Compagnie de la Nacelle de St. Pierre Fleur-delisée* which was to be international in its organisation and enlist the nautical skill and colonial experience of the Dutch.² Failing to receive support for such exten-

¹ Bonnasieux's *Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*, p. 358.

² Biggar's *Early Trading Companies of New France*.

sive and costly combinations, he created a more modest company, that of *La Compagnie du Canada, établie sous le titre de Nouvelle France ou La Société de Cent Personnes du Canada.*¹

Heretofore, it was recognised that the companies and merchants had been almost as indifferent to their pledges to introduce colonists as though they had received no privileges for fostering immigration. But this new company composed not only of merchants from the seaports of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, but of patriotic citizens of Paris like M. Cramoisy, the publisher of the *Relations des Jesuites*, and of high officials holding public positions in many parts of France, headed by the great Cardinal himself, would hold money-making as subordinate to the duty of peopling the wilds of America with Frenchmen and converting the natives. And therefore the constitution of the company provided for the importation into the colony of a great number of mechanics and farmers and priests, and for the administration of justice. But the lands of New France were to be held under strict feudal seignorial tenure. Unlike the English letters patent, it confers on the colonists no vestige of the function of self-government. Here, for the first time the entrance of the Huguenots into New France is explicitly forbidden. This exclusion of desirable colonists, from religious motives, was not peculiar to New France. The earliest Virginia patent imposed the Church of England on the colonists, though it did not exclude non-conformists, but the New England laws conferred the suffrage only on church members of the Congregational community, and men and women who preached dissent were expelled from the colonies.

¹It receives different names even in official documents. The exact legal title was then evidently of no great consequence.

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A more unpropitious year than 1627 for launching a colonisation company which was avowedly to be a rival of England could not well have been selected. A naval war was being waged between the two powers in which religious enthusiasm aggravated national jealousy and gave excuse for any and every high-handed action.

One result of the war was the capture of Quebec: the retention of New France by England for three years, and the enforced suspension of its operations by Richelieu's company.

The company existed till 1663. When dissolved, a statement of its account was made and the King undertook to recoup to the shareholders who had been reduced to thirty-three, their losses, amounting to 3,000,000 livres Tournois. The story of its maladministration is interesting, and bears some resemblance to that of the International Company of New Plymouth.

The company, besides engaging in trade and making a pretence to colonise, was the owner of the land, under conditions, and was entrusted with the government of the colony under a constitution emanating from France. All these privileges expired with its relinquishment of its charter, and in 1663 the Crown of France assumed nominally the government of the colony. But instead of throwing open the channels of trade, it conferred certain privileges on the West Indian Company—*La Compagnie des Indes Occidentals*. It failed in 1674, only to be followed by others.

The French government evidently appreciated the effect which commercial freedom had in stimulating political free thought, for the administration watched critically the effect on the English colonists of the possession of even such trammelled liberty of trade as England had conferred on her colonies, or rather as the colonists had assumed. The French authorities, doubtless, recognised

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also the impossibility of confining the exercise of commercial activity within limits, if any commercial rights were conferred. Great Britain experienced this anomaly in her dealings with her North American colonies, and therefore, the French authorities may with reason have dreaded the result of conferring liberal trading privileges on Frenchmen in America.

The excuse given by the Crown for depriving the people of the right to engage in the fur trade was that, if they became merchants they would devote less energy to farming. But the *habitants*, however willing to submit to ecclesiastical domination, and to political restraint, always fretted under the trade privileges given to the privileged companies. The popular discontent was aggravated by a general belief that the priests, who were friendly to the trading company, were in some way sharing in the profits of the fur trade. As early as 1643 a deputation was sent to France to petition the King for some relaxation of restraint in trade, and for the return of the Recollets. The first request was granted; the second refused. But the concession granted the colonists as the *Compagnie des Habitants* really availed them little. Under the new arrangement the company held inviolate its territorial and seignorial rights, but "it cedes and remits, subject to the King's good pleasure, to the inhabitants of the country, present and to come, all its exclusive rights and functions to engage in the trade of skins and furs in New France." And it makes the concession only on condition that the colonists relieve the company of its charter obligation "to support the colony of New France." At the same time a shadow of municipal government would seem to have been granted to Canada though no official document exists which confirms the concession. Each of the towns of Quebec, Three

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Rivers, and Montreal was allowed to appoint a syndic, and the three persons so appointed were to constitute an advisory board to confer with the Governor. The syndics might discuss but not vote. It was a very meagre measure of self-government. What became of the *Compagnie des Habitants* is not known. It probably failed to fulfil its obligations and the State held the old corporation responsible.

On the dissolution of the Company of the One Hundred Associates, both the political and the commercial status of Canada's affairs underwent a radical change, for there came to Canada the great Intendant Talon, who for years personally dictated, through the Sovereign Council, the fiscal and commercial policy of the colony, without consulting the Western Company, or evidently paying much heed to its wishes or interests, or those of some members of the influential mercantile class. Chauvigny, the wealthiest merchant of Canada, in a memoir which has been preserved,¹ more than hints that Talon used his own regulations about *congés*, or licenses, to trade with the Indians to his own profit; and that, while pretending to send expeditions to the Upper Lakes to explore for copper, he was really sending his own traders there under *congés*, which M. de Courcelles, his docile tool, though Governor, signed. The whole memoir is very interesting, the more so as it breathes the same opposition to reform which is so characteristic of the corporate spirit of all ages.

A high tariff promotes smuggling; and trade restrictions, such as formed the capital of the privileged companies of Canada, inevitably drive those who suffer from them, to seek illicit relief. From the early days corporate monopoly induced a large section of the more energetic of the immigrants to take to the woods.

¹ Collection de Manuscrits, Legislative Documents, Quebec, i., p. 252.

There, besides trading on their own account with the Indians, and using brandy extensively as the medium of exchange, they fell with ease into Indian ways, and began creating that distinct class of *half-breeds*, which has played so conspicuous a part in the recent history of the Canadian North-west. At first, beaver skins were abundant on the St. Maurice and the Ottawa, but before the century closed the *coureurs des bois* had to travel as far in pursuit of peltries as the Jesuits in search of souls; for these messengers of God and Mammon kept pace with one another in exploring the great West. Talon, who came to Canada as Intendant in 1665, to encourage immigration and foster trade and manufacturing as the chief attraction to emigrants, found the traffic in furs, both legal and illicit, to be one of the obstacles he had to contend with. This was not only on account of the drain which it made on the scanty population, but by reason of the demoralising influence, which commerce with the Indian exerted on the white man, whether in the forest or at the marts of trade. Duchesneau, his successor in office, wrote Colbert that there were eight hundred *coureurs des bois*. Salone quotes Patoulet as computing the number at from five hundred to eight hundred, and adds "though this number be but the twentieth of the total population, it amounts to neither more nor less than the one third of the male adults. And one result is that, though every male adult should marry by order of the King, yet in 1681 there were in the Colony only 1475 married men and 65 widowers."¹ While the fur trade lured away the more robust and enterprising of the male population from their lands and from the less exciting pursuits of civilised life, the methods of organising and conducting it offered irresistible temptation to the poorly paid officials of the Colony,

¹ Emile Salone, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France*, p. 256.

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from the lowest to the highest, to supplement their salaries by participation in the equivocal profits of a commerce carried on in the depth of the forest and far from all control. The advocates of the trade restriction and of the exasperating privileges enjoyed by the old companies, might almost with justice claim that the evils, which resulted therefrom, were less than those which followed the abandonment of farming and other legitimate domestic occupation, on the organisation of the old Company of the Habitants, and the still greater laxity in obeying the rules of trade which resulted from the abolition of the Company of the West Indies.

Nevertheless, to whatever the habit of roving was attributable; whether to the pursuit of gain or the natural instinct to wander; to irritation of ecclesiastical surveillance, or resentment at bureaucratic interference with personal liberty; it became as the century advanced a menace to the Colony's prosperity.

Two remedies were applied:— the enactment of laws imposing serious punishment against all unauthorised trading, and the issue of a limited number of licenses (*congés*), not to exceed twenty-five yearly, to trade under strict limitations in the Indian country. Neither device was effectual in correcting the evil, and both produced a crop of worse abuses than those they were designed to correct. To police the whole West was impossible, and therefore culprits under the law, if in danger of arrest, remained permanent aliens from the Colony, and carried goods to Albany, which was a better market than Montreal; though to cross the boundary was punishable by death. Another motive for absenting themselves from the over-regulated community was the ordinance that required every *courieur des bois* on his return to civilisation, if a bachelor, to choose a wife within fifteen days, from the first batch

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of imported girls.¹ Moreover, when such a distinguished and influential explorer as Duluth was avowedly one of the most energetic and most successful of the law breakers, both as a lover and trader, it was an admission of partiality to let him go free and condemn poor wretches, because poorer, to the galleys. Therefore an act of amnesty had to be passed.²

The twenty-five *congés* which the Governor was authorised to grant were given to favourites; to officers in the army and civic servants; and these were by them sold to merchants. Though the terms of the *congés* permitted each licensee to load, as merchandise for exchange, only two large canoes, it offered congenial employment to a certain number of men, anxious to accompany the canoes, and of many more already in the West, and weaned from the ways of sedentary life.

Nothing displays more emphatically the contrast between the two groups of colonists—between those Englishmen who occupied the sea-coast, and the French, who were almost lost in the vastness of the interior forests—than the matter-of-fact apathy with which the one group was content to live at home, building the foundation of a nation, and the irresistible enthusiasm with which the other group of colonists dived into the wilderness; and, as the great West unfolded itself before them, pushed farther and farther forward till they almost reached the farther limits of the continent. One would be inclined to attribute it to temperament, were it not that in our own day the children of these staid Puritans have heard the call of the West and responded with eagerness, leaving their ships and their homesteads; and, in a great wave of emigration, have peopled the prairie and sought with avidity adventures in the Rocky Mountains. In the old days

¹ Salone, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

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the sea, the natural element of the Britons, gratified their love of danger; and for two centuries and more New England supplied with sailors an ever growing mercantile marine. But when the great West was revealed by the Union and Central Pacific railroads, a more attractive field than the well-beaten trail of the ocean was opened to the adventurous spirits of the Atlantic coast. The decline of the American mercantile marine was coincident with the exploits of the Confederate cruisers and the opening of the West; but was probably attributable more to the latter than the former influence. Now that the romance of the West has well-nigh vanished, the old instinct for sea life will revive in the hearts of the people.

The most radical difference in the spirit which animated the two groups of colonists is most emphatically expressed by the eagerness with which the English hastened to organise themselves into self-governing bodies, as is so prominently described in Bradford and Winthrop *Journals* and the strange apathy with which the more energetic Frenchmen submitted to the arbitrary civil and ecclesiastical rule of men whom they had no opportunity of selecting as their rulers.

The constitution which we have referred to as granted to the inhabitants in 1645, was confirmed in 1647. Under it each of the three towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal was to select a syndic who should hold office for three years. These syndics and the admiral of the fleet were admitted to the Council to plead for their constituencies and the interests they represented, but were not allowed even a deliberative voice. The Council itself was composed of the Governor and—until a Bishop should be created—the Superior of the Jesuits' house in Quebec, together with the Governor of the Island of Montreal. In the

absence of the Governor and the Governor of Montreal their lieutenants were to represent them. The Council was ordered to meet in the Company's warehouse (*la maison commune où est établie le magasin de Quebec*). The Council had the right to appoint the admiral, captain, and other officers of the trading fleet; but no elected member of Council or official might hold office for more than three years. The Council also had the right to audit the company's accounts and to fix the prices of all articles bought or used in barter.

When Louis XIV assumed the government of the Colony he gave it a constitution, which created a more highly organised bureaucracy, and contracted the influence which the people possessed under the Constitution of 1647. It created a sovereign Council, in imitation of the Council of State of the parent kingdom. It was to sit and deliberate in Quebec, unless the King ordered otherwise. Its members were to be the Governor for the time being, representing the King; the Bishop, or the principal ecclesiastic, as representative of the Church; five councillors, to be chosen for one year by the Governor and the Bishop. These councillors though not elected by the people, were charged to keep themselves in touch with the people, and with popular needs as brought to their notice by the syndics of the urban and village communities. A *procureur* was appointed and empowered to administer oaths. The Council was authorised to take cognisance of all cases, civil and criminal, following as nearly as possible the procedure of the Parliament of Paris. The King, however, reserved to himself the right of changing or abrogating laws and ordinances at his good pleasure. The Council, besides being the highest court of appeal, was empowered to supervise the public finances; pass laws for the regulation of the traffic in furs with the

Indians, as well as of interstate trade and commerce; to create and control a police force for the whole colony; and to establish courts and appoint judges of the first instance for the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. It gave co-ordinate authority to ecclesiastical and civil chiefs, and became thus the source of endless confusion. The elders in New England exerted influences, but they generally, if not invariably, supported the executive. That the Church should participate in the government was as congenial to the Puritan system as to that of Rome. The constitution underwent a slight modification in 1675, not in the direction of greater popularisation, but of greater centralisation, through the growing influence of the Intendant, whose duty, as confidential agent of the Colonial Minister, was to act as a check on the Governor, in case the latter might be inclined to yield to local influences. The Intendant was assigned the third place in the Council chamber, and acted as its president.

A curious incident expressed the fixed determination of the King to emphatically repress all popular aspirations. One function of the Intendant was to watch the Govenor. Frontenac came out as Governor in 1672, when Talon was still Intendant. One of his first acts illustrates the conflict between his own ideas of what was good for the Colony and those of the King. Believing he could popularise the government and advance the interests of the Colony by convoking a representative assembly of the clergy, nobility, judiciary, and commons, to discuss public affairs, after the manner of the States-General, he summoned such a parliament and it met in the church of the Jesuits. The Intendant, Talon, with admirable caution, absented himself on the plea of indisposition. He had a suspicion that the action of the impulsive count would not meet with the approval

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of their Royal Master. He was right, for in reply to a despatch reporting what he had done, the Governor received something very like a reprimand from the Minister. He reminded him that the King had ceased to convoke the *États Généraux*, instructing him at the same time, not only to refuse all demands by the people for popular representation, but even to suppress the election of all syndics, if that could be done without exciting popular commotion.

This constitution of 1663, remained substantially in force till the close of the French régime, and under it the Sovereign Council, under the suggestion of the Intendants, regulated all matters, great and small. It recorded the royal edicts and ordinances, transmitted from France, and like the General Courts of the British provinces, not only regulated prices of merchandise and beaver skins for the whole Colony, but filled the functions of a municipal assembly. There are ordinances which laid down rules for the tavern-keeper, such as forbidding wine to be sold with meals except by permission; others prescribed the exact width of streets, such as that which requires Ste. Geneviève Street in Quebec to be eighteen feet clear from fence to fence; others forbade firewood from being piled in the streets, or in vacant lots between the houses; and prohibited the use of shingles as a roofing material except on dormer windows. Tin—real tin plates—soon became the favourite covering, and as wood smoke did not attack it, the old roofs remained bright as silver till the second half of the last century when coal with its acid smoke came into partial use as domestic fuel. That liberty which the English enjoyed to regulate their own domestic affairs was never even claimed by the French Colonists; and to thwart the Governor, appointed by the home government, was as foreign to their

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instincts as it was natural to those of the Virginian or New Englander. There were long and bitter quarrels between the Governor and the Bishop and between the Governor and the Intendant. Even the Intendant was not always friendly to the priests; but between the people and the civil authorities there was little or no overt collision. It is also remarkable that the Jesuits were astute enough to remain on ostensibly friendly terms with every element of this complex society.

The code of laws which the Colony had already adopted were now formally imposed. It was the *Coutume de Paris*. In the Middle Ages the Provinces of Northern and Middle France had each an unwritten code called a *coutume*, and these provinces were distinguished as *Pays de Coutume* in distinction from the Southern Provinces, which had retained, as one of the survivals of the Roman occupation, a written code. In the fifteenth century these unwritten bodies of law and custom were codified and subsequently printed and approved by the different Parliaments. The *Coutume de Paris* was the body of laws most suitable for the Colony.

New France accepted like New England the civil and criminal laws of the mother country, but New England used the utmost liberty in interpreting them, while New France was never allowed such legislative freedom.¹

¹ The Quebec Act, passed in 1774, secured to the people of Quebec, as their Civil Code, their old *Coutume de Paris*, but prior to that it was provisionally adopted and in force, for in 1772, there was published "by the desire of the Honourable Guy Carleton, Esq., Governor in Chief of the said province." . . . "An abstract of those Parts of the Customs of the Viscountcy and Provostship of Paris, which were received and practised in the Province of Quebec, in the time of the French Government, drawn up by a select Committee of Canadian Gentlemen, well skilled in the laws of France and of that Province."

This medieval-feudal code became by Act of the Imperial Parliament, under the Quebec Act, but not by treaty with France, the civil law of the

But if the people had no power of popular election, there was no lack of officials, judicial and administrative. The Council had on its creation appointed local judges who were enjoined to dispense justice without too much technicality (*sans chicane*) or lengthy procedure, but these were abolished in 1677, and replaced by an inferior court for the trial of civil and criminal cases, that of the *Prévôté royale*, presided over by the Lieutenant-General. The Crown business was conducted by a Procureur du Roi and a Grand Prévôt—Provost Marshal. A recorder, two notaries, and two bailiffs were attached to the court, and the Grand Prévôt had two deputies and an archer or constable. After 1677, the Maréchaussée, or Marshalsea Court for tracing and punishing vagabonds, was established. Six mounted police were its active officers. The Admiralty Court was not opened until 1771. Judges were but poorly paid, receiving only four hundred livres salary, but they were relieved from the cost of wearing gowns and caps.

In addition to these legal functionaries, there was a Grand Master of Streams and Forests, an Intendant of Commerce and Marine, a Commissary of Marine, a Keeper of the Royal Treasury, a Comptroller of the Beaver Trade, the King's Clerk, a Commissioner-General of Provisions, a Surveyor-General, and other officials. As all of them were poorly paid, not a few considered themselves justified in supplementing their income by such means, fair or foul, as might offer.

The notary has always been a conspicuous person in French Canada. He has professionally the standing

present Province of Quebec, Lower Canada, and was secured to its inhabitants, together with their religion and the use of their language. All three privileges have been sacredly and tenaciously maintained as a national heritage. Thus, though the *Coutume de Paris* was replaced in Old France by the *Code Napoleon*, it survives in the Province of Quebec as a memento of New France.

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of an attorney, is a member of a learned profession, and draws deeds. The original deed which he draws must be retained in his *cadastral*, and copies only given to the parties in interest. On his death, or the dissolution of his firm, the whole of his originals are deposited in the registry office, and are preserved to all time as public documents. The first notarial deed is said to have been drawn in Canada on August 11, 1647, by Laurent Baurman. Long prior to that, however, Champlain had created the office of *greffier*, or register, and appointed to it a certain Nicholas. The profession has always been numerous. In the census of 1681, besides the two official notaries attached to the court, five others seem to have found employment in the town of Quebec, or one to something less than three hundred inhabitants.

The seignory was then the civil limit of the ecclesiastical parish. And the seigneur and the *curé* were the most influential personages in every village community. The captain of militia, before whose house a flag post is still erected, as a sign of office, was a *habitant*. Under the seigniorial tenure every *censitaire* or tenant, was liable to military service, and this was no mere formality as during the first century of Canada's existence, war with the Iroquois was almost perennial. Public work on roads and bridges was done by *corvée*. And meetings to decide such purely local questions were held after mass on Sunday before the church door, a reminder of the old days when the cathedral nave was the meeting-place of municipal and political gatherings. The village life was probably what it remains to-day in remote parishes. But no urban organisation comparable in complexity with that of the New England Town Meeting ever existed in New France.

CHAPTER II

A GLIMPSE OF THE PAST REFLECTED IN THE PRESENT

SOME personal recollections of French Canadian village life may illustrate the historical continuity between the past and the present which is more intimate in the Province of Quebec than anywhere else on the Continent.¹

When I read Gilbert Parker's *Right of Way* by instalments, I wondered where his Chaudière might be, for I knew the real Chaudière some half-century ago, and his picture of the people and their manners bore no resemblance to the reality. I was relieved to learn, from the preface to the book, that the Chaudière of the story had no existence, except in the author's imagination. The actual Chaudière and its people remain in my recollection as an idyll of primitive purity and simplicity.

The Chaudière River heads near the height of land between Maine and the Province of Quebec, and its waters almost interlock with those of the Kennebec. It was, therefore, from the earliest days—long before Arnold led his troops through it—a waterway between Quebec and the New England colonies; for, though turbulent for some distance above its mouth, where it leaps by its picturesque falls into the St. Lawrence, the

¹Reprint by permission from *The Nation*, Jan. 30, 1902.

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upper stretches of the river are so slightly ruffled that the Indians and the Canadian voyageurs could paddle their canoes with only one portage, for about forty miles. The fertile valley through which it flows in this section of its course was, early in the eighteenth century, parcelled out as seignories of twelve miles by twelve miles in extent to French immigrants of note. And as the land was rich, it was soon taken up by tenants, many of whose descendants still occupy the farms of their forefathers; for the seignorial tenure of land encouraged permanency of occupation. The tenant paid the seigneur only a trifling annual rent of one or two sous per acre, and the farm and its improvements descended on the same terms to the tenant's heirs. But if he sold his holding to a stranger, the seigneur was entitled to *lods et ventes*, or a commission amounting to a large share of the price. Transfers were, therefore, costly and rare, and generation after generation of the same family occupied the same land, cutting it up, however, into strips, as heirs multiplied who refused to emigrate from the parish, until the attenuated farms became too small to supply even the slender wants of the simple folk who cultivated them.

Some sixty years ago, in the bed of one of the streams flowing into the Chaudière through the Parish of Saint Fran ois, a girl picked up a curious stone, which was recognised to be a nugget of gold. But the discovery, though noted by Captain Baddeley in *Silliman's Journal* some years afterward, created no excitement. California and its gold had not loomed up to inflame the imagination of the world; and, to the primitive folk of the Chaudi re Valley, the discovery of a nugget was of less moment than the birth of a baby. It had been better for my father's purse had he been as impassive as his countrymen, but he first joined a few other enterprising spirits

in buying from the seigneur the right to work the auriferous gravels, and, when the company failing, he undertook alone the unprofitable task. And thus it came about that I spent two pleasant summers among the gentle, courteous *habitants* of the Chaudière Valley.

My job was to superintend some gravel workings on a small stream called after the family who owned the land at its mouth, the Deplante. The farm, of ample width originally, had been subdivided among three branches of the family. One eked out a living by blacksmithing; another had some skill as a carpenter; my host, as the head of the Deplantes, disdained other occupation than farming, which, however, he practised, not in person, but through the members of his family. These consisted of a wizen but shrewd old woman, the wife, who was profuse in her professions, and refused to name any price for her hospitality, but, if her "*ce que vous voulez?*" was not responded to as liberally as she expected, left no doubt in your mind that you had been guilty of disgraceful meanness. It was well she had some business capacity and ambition, for her husband had none. He dreamed and slept his life away in the barn. Some of the hay was always sticking in his shaggy, tawny shock of hair. He was the infidel of the village. He never went to mass, but his heretical notions were not very clear, and he recognised the force of public opinion sufficiently to wisely shut them up in his own muddled brain—except to an admitted heretic. They really consisted of little else than an admiration for a shadowy Voltaire, who he said was "*un grand homme. Il a écrit soixante-dix volumes, monsieur.*" His indolence was inherited by his eldest son Olivier, but the younger son, François Xavier, was an active but rather disagreeably pushing youth, who ultimately broke up the ancestral home; for, years afterwards,

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when I drove up the Chaudière, the old people had died, the girls had married, the boys had flitted, and the place knew the Deplantes no more. The other members of the family were four girls. The eldest, Euphrosyne, a good-natured, strapping girl, did most of the outside work; Pélagie was the wit of the family; Ellen was a pale-faced, light-haired beauty, who seldom or never spoiled her complexion by field work, but was the family seamstress; and Marie, a bright little girl, was at the village school. She subsequently was sent to the Ursuline Convent in Quebec to complete her education, and to fit herself to become the village schoolmistress.

There were four of us, all in search of gold dust in the bed of the Deplante stream, who wished to board with the Deplantes; but the house contained only two big rooms and the garret. The outer room was the kitchen and living-room, with its big fireplace and its deal table and home-made chairs, whose bottoms were woven out of the underbark of the cedar. The wrought-iron lamp, of the exact shape of those used by the old Romans, filled with tallow, in which a wick was immersed, and which hung from a notched stick secured to the ceiling, gave a dingy light for the short space of evening between suppertime and bedtime, for the family engaged in no literary pursuits. The inner room contained four huge bedsteads, one in each corner, so high that agility or a ladder was required to enter them. What members of the family occupied them when we were not there, we had, of course, no means of knowing. When we were there, the old couple and the girls climbed into the garret, the boys slept in the barn. But to sleep four in a room, even though each occupied a separate bed, was not consistent with our habits; so we suggested that partitions might, without much cost, be thrown up. The mere mention of a change in the architecture

of the old wooden house threw the old man into a panic. It was the only occasion in our acquaintance when we observed the slightest disturbance in the placidity of the poor old fellow's temper. His great-grandfather had built the house, and to touch it was a profanity. He could not—he dare not. But, as the alternative was our leaving, the cupidity of the old lady overcame the old man's scruples, and the partitions were knocked up. I have since then felt that we committed a crime, for I fear we broke into and helped to break down a simple mode of life without any parallel on our busy, skeptical, self-seeking continent.

The family lived almost exclusively on bread and milk. A can of milk covered with a luscious layer of cream was placed before each. Pancakes, so light that they almost tossed themselves, made with no stint of eggs, occasionally varied by a little fat pork, constituted the simple diet. But we wanted butter. In the rich meadows along the Chaudière a herd of their cows fed, and of milk and cream there was galore, but butter had never been made, and there was no churn in the house. I recall well how Euphrosyne beat up the rich cream into a substitute for butter in a bowl, using her hand as a beater. It was not nice, and it soon turned sour; but rather than introduce the innovation of a churn, they preferred buying butter at the store. Besides the cows, they kept sheep, whose fleece supplied the family loom, on which the girls, during the long winter months, wove the *étoffe du pays* for the men's clothing, the striped stuff for their own petticoats, and the blankets for the beds. The fleece was spun at home, after being carded at the seigneur's mill on shares; for, as a condition of the old seignorial grants, a carding and a flour mill had to be run by these representatives of the old feudal lords, for the convenience of their tenants and their own profit.

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Then there was a patch of flax, beautiful in the flowering season, and in the autumn the flax-beaters were brought out on the banks of the stream, in whose waters the flax stems had been steeped, and the merry clack, clack of the wooden bar was mingled with the happy laughter of the girls, as they prepared the fibre to be made by themselves into the family linen and sheeting. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the selfish colonial laws of old France—more exacting even than the commercial laws of England—allowed the Canadian-French *habitant* to begin this self-supporting existence. Ever since then they have added little to the revenue derived either from the customs of his Sacred Majesty of France or the British Crown.

Nevertheless, once a year, there was a trading expedition made by some member of the Deplante family to Quebec. The two-wheeled cart was loaded with a few eggs, turkeys, and like salable articles, and with provender for the pony and for one of the boys and one of the girls; the journey of fifty miles to Quebec and fifty miles back was made by easy stages. Every evening the traders camped by the roadside, and, on the evening before they reached Quebec, stopped just beyond Point Levis, so as to take the earliest ferry-boat and secure a good position in the line of market carts, from which the thrifty housewife still buys on market days her provisions—for the huckster is forbidden to purchase from the farmer until after the householder has had his or her first choice. The few dollars' worth of poultry and maple sugar sold, the important event of the year followed—the expenditure of part of the proceeds in a cotton dress or two, for mass on Sundays; a pound or two of green tea, some simple remedies, and some trifling articles of finery. The

journey back and the pleasant return home completed the one excitement of the year.

It was a very moral village. With a view to excite early marriages, the boys and girls were encouraged by the priest to meet freely, but at discreet distance. Swinging was the fad, and a huge wooden structure stood before our cottage. The boys might swing the girls, but the lads and the lasses must not swing together. Dancing was not forbidden, but round dances were strictly prohibited. On Sunday afternoon the young men assembled by dozens at our house, each arriving with his own horse and cart, which lined the fence around the meadow between the house and the main road; and then the din of laughter and song, and the dense smoke of acrid, home-grown tobacco, made Sunday afternoon less pleasant to us boarders than to the happy, noisy crowds on the other side of the partition.

The principal personages of the parish were the notary and the priest, but of the two the priest stood supremely highest in the regards of the people. The parish priest of the Province of Quebec is not only the spiritual guide of his parishioners, but the adviser to whom they look for counsel in matters of this world, for medical assistance when the doctor is not nigh, and for consolation in every time of trouble. No clergy in the world stand in as close and intimate relation to their flocks, without being in familiar contact with them, as the French priests of Quebec. The Irish priest is socially even nearer to his people than the Canadian *curé*, but this very sociability detracts somewhat from his influence and the sacredness in which his person and his office are held. One day the children returned from mass looking almost solemn. A tavern had been opened in the parish against the *curé's* protest. From the pulpit he had anathematised the tavern-keeper as

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the destroyer of public morals. He had forbidden his parishioners to patronise the evil den, and threatened that, unless it was closed, he would call down fire from heaven and consume it. His congregation believed in his power to do so, and he, convinced that he was doing heaven's work, believed that heaven would help him.

We were very good friends, the priest and myself. I had given him an Italian copy of one of Raphael's Madonnas for an altarpiece. The last time I saw him was under the following rather peculiar circumstances. Several years had passed since I had lived in the Deplante family. My father's concession of the gold-field had nearly expired when rumour reached Quebec that a wonderful strike had been made by a company of four *habitants*, who had taken out a license to work on halves. I found the stream on which the rich bar had been discovered alive with gold-seekers; but I found also that, unless I reduced the royalty to a more reasonable proportion, very little would be paid. So I notified the diggers that I would accept one fourth instead of one half. Small quantities of gold dust were turned in by stray miners, but the lucky four appeared with two and a half pounds of gold, which they claimed was the result of their work with tin pans in the bed of the stream for ten days. I willingly accepted the gold, and believed their statements. But it soon came to my hearing that the returns they made were far short of their luck so I cancelled their license. The following day the four men met me, and, as a preliminary, wished an assurance that I would still accept one fourth instead of demanding one half. This, of course, I gave, and in the evening they arrived at the hotel with a big mustard bottle full of dust and nuggets. They had washed a pound of gold per day for ten consecutive days out of the bed of the stream and they weighed me out the balance of two and a half pounds.

Not unreasonably, they asked for just a little back, the more so as, in not making a true accounting at first, they assured me they had acted with the consent of the *curé*. So next day I called on my friend the priest, and received a characteristic explanation. After the extraordinary find, the four *habitants* called on his reverence, told him the truth, and asked, as a matter of conscience, whether they might not conceal temporarily the full extent of their good fortune, inasmuch as a revelation of such unusual wealth might assist the *concessionnaire* in selling to the Yankees, and the Yankees might cancel their license. The advent of the Yankee from this point of view mattered little to the priest, but the Yankee as the embodiment of heresy, vice, and worldliness, mattered much to his reverence, and he fell in with their views, provided they pledged themselves to make ultimately an honest return. But, on my cancelling their license, they returned to the *preshytière* and laid the case again before his reverence. They said they were willing to pay at once, as the love of the gold might grow on them, and, when the season closed, they might be reluctant to part with it; moreover, they might die suddenly, and what would happen if they passed into the next world with stolen gold in their possession? —a question the priest could not undertake to answer satisfactorily. They thought, therefore, that unless his reverence objected, they had better ease their conscience and their pockets at once—a holy resolve, to which his reverence heartily assented. It was with this pleasant incident that I ended my intercourse with the simple, sincere folk of the Chaudière Valley. I have seen it since from the railroad cars, but I fear the railroad has changed the habits of its people more than it has altered the aspects of the country.

CHAPTER III

SOME OF THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

THE material for the early history of New France, New Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay are ample and reliable. The earliest are autobiographical, for the three first governors of all three colonies—Samuel Champlain of New France, William Bradford of Plymouth, and John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay—have by a happy coincidence left personal narratives of what happened under their own rule or observation.

In one respect Champlain's narrative differs from those of Bradford and Winthrop. It was written for immediate publication. Before he became celebrated, he had practised writing, but his first known literary effort remained undiscovered till 1855. It was first published in translation by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. It contained an account of what he saw in the West Indies and Spanish America during the year 1599–1600, when in the service of Spain, in charge of the *Saint Julien*. The manuscript is illuminated by sixty-two drawings and water colours, which, if from his hand, proves that he possessed some skill as a draftsman. It did not appear in the original language till published in the edition of Champlain's works, edited by the Abbé Laverdière under the patronage of the Laval University in 1870. The style is less polished than that of his

later works, but his observations are as correct and his foresight as prophetic. For instance, in describing the transit of the bullion of Peru by land and water across the Isthmus to Porto Bello, he remarks that "if from Panama to that river the Isthmus was cut through, the southern sea would flow into the Atlantic and the sea voyage would be curtailed by 1500 leagues."

Returning to France, probably in 1602, he became known to de Chaste, who was embarking on his colonisation schemes. "In these enterprises," he writes, "I heartily entered, having just returned from the West Indies. After many interviews with the Sieur de Chaste I decided that I could be of service to him, and he did me the honour to communicate to me some of his plans. Thus it came about that I started on the new departure, left Paris, and embarked with de Pont" (Pontgravé, who was to be his closest friend for over twenty-seven years). This occurred in the year 1603. On this first northern voyage he ascended the river of Canada to the foot of the Lachine Rapids, and was so impressed by the commanding situation of the abandoned Indian village of Stadacona near which Cartier had wintered in 1535-36, that, when five years later he was in command of De Monts's colonisation expedition, he had already determined on the site of the capital of New France. On that expedition also he made those vague promises to the Montagnais and Algonquin Indians, whose fulfilment they subsequently claimed, and in keeping which he involved himself and New France in the endless Iroquois wars. This voyage is recorded in the second book of Champlain, published under the title *Des Sauvages, ou voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage, fait en la Nouvelle France l'an 1603*. The first edition is without date and must have issued from the press late in 1603 or early in 1604. The original

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manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

In the interval between 1603 and 1608 he was exploring the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and New England as far south as Cape Cod, and sharing the ill-fortune of De Monts and Poutrincourt in l'Acadie. Of all this he tells, and of his doings in New France up to August of the year 1613 in a volume entitled *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain. Xaintongeois ou Journal très fidèle des observations faites en la Nouvelle France*, 4to, Paris, 1613.

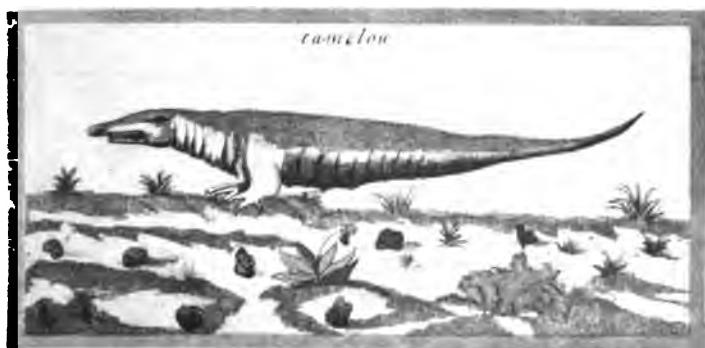
In 1618 he wrote to the King and to the Chamber of Commerce of Brouage, supplicating help for his colony. Both letters were published in Louis Audiat's *Brouage et Champlain*.

In 1619 he published his *Voyages et Découvertes faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615 jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1618*. The year 1614 was spent in France and is, therefore, excluded from his biographical narrative of Canadian occurrence.

Probably in 1630, on Champlain's returning to France after his detention in England, he published, in a pamphlet of twenty-five pages, an appeal to the King in favour of the retention of Canada. This book, described by Mr. Philéas Gagnon in the *Memorial Bulletin* of the Quebec Geographical Society, July 1, 1908, was not reproduced in Laverdière's edition: but he explains that the first chapter of the edition of 1632 is composed in great part out of a little memoir, which he presented to the King in 1630.

His last and most voluminous work was published in 1632. It is a compendium of all his previous voyages, which are supplemented by his account of what happened between 1619 and the surrender of Quebec to Kirke in 1629. The work bears marks of having been edited—perhaps compiled—by the Jesuits, not only

Il y a beaucoups d'entrees fructy dont Il y en font pas grand
 Il en encores qmby fait bon Il y a aussi dans racine
 qui sappelle usjans que les Indiens mangent cy l'herbe de poy
 Il en croit ne bœuf ny vny de me leste estoit fete cy laquelle
 Il y a grande quantite de ciment come que l'oy dit quilz
 Quant de lait ce que Je me puise assurer come que Il y
 aye bœuf par plusieurs foies Il a cataliste assez pointue
 Le corps assez long pour sa grossesse assurere vng pied et
 demy et ma que deux jambes qui sont devant la queue
 fort pointue, mesme de couleur grise jaunâtre
 Le dict c'melesoy est Il y a uerfento



Les multes marchandise qui sont dans la q' Il y sont
 sucre gngamibra Canifiste, miel de Camée Tabaco
 quantite de ciuité boeuf vache et montone l'oy est

A Reproduction of Champlain's First Work.



because he or his editors sedulously ignores the work of the Récollets and gives undue prominence to that of the members of the Society of Jesuits, but because the temper in which it is composed displays a narrow-mindedness and bigotry which is conspicuously absent from Champlain's earlier works.

The writings of Champlain are the only safe guide through the first quarter of a century of French colonisation on the St. Lawrence. They are composed with skill; and are the utterances of a man, whose eye nothing escaped; and whose mind was remarkably free from warping prejudice, in an age when bitter religious and political controversy distorted men's judgment to such extent that candour and fairness were among the rarest of virtues.

There is no other contemporary history written from personal knowledge which covers the whole of the period, embraced in Champlain's voyages. But there are books from two authors, Lescarbot and Sagard, who had been in New France and who were personally acquainted with Champlain and his fellow pioneers.

Lescarbot was a young lawyer and author, who, aggrieved by some affront offered him in court, joined Poutrincourt in 1606 on a voyage to l'Acadie and remained at or in the neighbourhood of Port Royal (Annapolis) till the autumn of the following year, when De Monts's concession being cancelled, he and Poutrincourt returned to France. His account of his own experience, as a farmer and a factor of Poutrincourt's estate in the New World, is witty and instructive. In his history the third edition of which was published in 1621, he narrates also the early voyages to the territory of New France, treats with great fulness De Monts's colonisation experience in l'Acadie, and from Champlain's writings and from intercourse with him and

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with those who journeyed back from New France to Old France, he gathered material for his narrative of what happened up to 1609.

Lescarbot also published in 1610 a small volume entitled, *La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont été baptisés dans la Nouvelle France cette année, 1610.* He is authority for the exact wording of some of the earliest public documents and he tells his story with all the charm and humour of the writers of that best period of French literature.

Not so the records of the Recollet Brother Sagard, published as *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollets y ont faits pour la conversion des Infidèles. 1636*, and his *Grande Voyage du Pays des Hurons, 1632.*

Brother Sagard accompanied Father Viel to Canada in 1623. He at once proceeded to the Huron Mission of St. Gabriel, and there remained till the following summer, when he returned to Quebec with Father Le Caron, leaving Father Viel to conduct the mission. He said he was recalled to France in 1625, and probably, therefore, left Canada that year or the next. His personal knowledge of the Indians and the Colony was short, but he had access to the correspondence of the monks with their Provincial, and therefore had every opportunity of getting information at first hand, up to the date of Kirke's conquest and the expulsion of the Recollets. His history is consequently of value, but his views of life are narrow. He almost ignores civil affairs and seldom mentions even the Governor, Champlain. On the other hand he gives such space to the doings of the members of his Order that one would infer that nothing which happened outside the monastery, or apart from the missionary labours of the brotherhood, was worthy of notice. Their vows seemed to

sever the very ties of nationality for they referred to their fellow countrymen at the fort as *les Français*.

The same is true of Le Père Leclercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France*, published in 1691 and written without personal knowledge. He uses Sagard's narrative for the first part of his history.

Fortunately for the historian, the Jesuits arrived in Canada when Sagard departed. Their reports to their superior in Europe from 1632 to 1672 compose the most valuable body of information, despite their limitations, which we possess as to the history of New France. The earliest document we have from these priests consists of letters describing their labours in l'Acadie, by Fathers Biard and Masseé.

The Jesuits came to Canada in 1625, but no official Relations were written, or at any rate published, of the doings of the Order before they returned in 1632. A letter, however, is preserved of Father Lalemant to his brother, written in 1626.¹ He describes the fur trade as the pivot around which mission work revolved, and therefore he gives his brother a very full account of the business transactions of the fur company in that year of grace. Comparing this letter and their subsequent official communications and their private journal with the writings of the Recollet fathers, we appreciate the difference in training and in motives of actions between the astute followers of Loyola and the earnest but less cultivated monks. The Jesuits looked at men and their doings from a more human point of view than Brother Sagard and the friars.

Père Rochemonteix² attributes the origin of the

¹The first document in the Quebec edition of the *Relations*, 1858.

²*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e Siècle.* Introduction, vol. i.

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Relations to the instructions given by St. Francis Xavier to the missionary Père Juan de Beira and Père Barzée to report to the society's authorities for publication such news "as would bear witness to the society's zeal and to the success which divine mercy deigns to grant to its humble efforts. Let nothing," he adds, "appear which could give offence to any one; nothing but what would at once inspire the reader with thoughts of God, his glory and the advancement of his service." The advice is good, and the *Relations* written by the missionaries in both hemispheres in response to these instructions are among the most memorable of contemporary documents. Nevertheless, as the limitations laid down were strictly followed, the scope of the letters, as historical documents, is correspondingly limited, and their value proportionately reduced. They were intended to be, and they succeeded in being, arguments in glorification of the society rather than faithful and candid chronicles of contemporary events.

Le Jeune in 1635 warns his readers that he does not pretend to describe all that happened in Canada, but only such events as redounded to the advance of the faith and the glory of God.

In addition to the *Relations* and the *Lettres Édifiantes*, there were sent to their superiors, by the members of the society, private and confidential letters descriptive of critical events and public personages, which gave the heads of the order more perfect knowledge of all that was transpiring than even the ministers of state could obtain from their own officials. But it would have been as unwise and improper to publish these, as it would be for any government to print the confidential reports of their diplomats and their special agents.

Rochemonteix attributes the cessation of the publication of the *Relations* in 1673, but not of their composi-

tion and receipt by the Provincial of Paris, to the brief of Clement X, forbidding the publication of missionary records, owing to the scandal among the religious orders, growing out of the discussion of the Chinese rites. The Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan, to make the break between the old and new beliefs as easy as possible to their converts, recognised certain Chinese customs and beliefs as innocent, because not contrary to the essential doctrines of Christ, though heathen in their origin. They simply followed the decision of St. Paul in regard to meat offered to idols. The Dominicans were shocked and persuaded the Papacy to forbid such laxity, with the result that an Oriental phase of Christianity, which was rapidly spreading over the Far East, was checked. A minor misfortune was that the narrative of his exploration of the Mississippi by Père Marquette, which passed through the hands of Père d'Ablon, Superior of the Order in Canada, to the General of the Order in Rome, and the Provincial in France, was buried in oblivion for years.¹

The Superior of the Jesuits also kept a Journal in which we have a delightful diary of passing events. The Journal, of course, deals chiefly with ecclesiastical details, but as such things were of much more general interest in those days than they are now, the narrative does not distort, to any serious extent, the routine of the every-day thoughts and actions of either laymen or clerics. It gives us glimpses of a native courtesy which smoothed the ruggedness of existence, and softened the asperities, which it could not wholly banish, from the little town of Quebec. To laymen it is of interest to be admitted to some of the secrets and special cares of clerical life. Of these the Journal reveals not a few—some trivial, some of greater importance. It is not a

¹ *Rochemonteix*, vol. ii., p. 36.

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matter of great moment to know how many candles were lighted during the *salut*; nor what attitude the Governor assumed in and out of church; but it is curious to note the very minute particularity with which the details of religious functions were arranged, and how, nevertheless, occasional errors occurred in the conduct of the services through ignorance, or neglect of careful rehearsal; and how blunders were made, which introduced confusion into the most accurately planned processions. Such trifles are told side by side with events of importance, and all with such charming frankness and naturalness that it is difficult to conceive that the same men wrote the *Journal* who invited from year to year the *Relations*, with their everlasting stories about the angelic ~~sweetness~~ of the Indian converts, the holy raptures of some of the civil magnates of the Colony, and the seraphic perfection of life and soul of certain members of the religious communities with whom the Fathers of the Society of Jesus were not in conflict.

Another source of history are the letters of the Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. She was the first Superior of the Ursulines of Quebec, a mystic and yet a woman of fine intellectual parts, combined with excellent business instincts and tact. As Marie Guyart she had tasted the bitterness of sorrow and enjoyed the exhilaration of romance. She had married early, but, after two years of happiness as Madame Martin, was left a widow with an only child. For twelve years she devoted herself to the care and education of her boy. Then the call to forsake all, even her offspring, became overpowering and she yielded. She entered the Ursuline convent at Tours, and henceforward exemplified that mysterious state of self-abnegation and absorption in a dominant idea or passion which St. Paul expresses when he says:



Père Joannis Josephi Casot, S. J.

The last of the Old Jesuits of France.



"I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I but Christ liveth in me."

She arrived in Canada in 1639, and managed the Ursuline convent of Quebec through many vicissitudes till her death in 1672. She and Mother Superior Athanasia had on alternate years received the votes of the community of nuns as Lady Superior. Most of her letters were written to her son; others to various members of her family or to nuns at her old convent in Tours. They were edited by her son, who had become a priest, and were issued in 1681. He expresses some hesitancy about publishing her references to persons still alive, with whom she disagrees or of whose acts she disapproves, but her opinions, though decided and emphatically expressed, are never harsh, and she avoids mentioning names, whenever possible.

He divides her letters into *Lettres Spirituelles* and *Lettres Historiques*. But he remarks justly that "this distinction is not always correct, inasmuch as the spiritual letters often contain historical facts, and the historical letters breathe such a tone of piety that those who peruse them think they are reading a religious discourse intended to inculcate moral lessons."

The division is, nevertheless, well made, for the spiritual letters are in great measure the rapt, mystical utterances of a person under the influence of what theologians have called passive devotion, "*oraison passive*." These rhapsodies are even more unintelligible as uttered in her "*Meditations et Retraites*," and her "*Exposition succincte du Cantique des Cantiques*."

But in her secular letters she discusses passing events, as a woman of the world, and as though she were taking part in them, and not as a cloistered nun. Her son explains that "what she says may be relied on, because she never described what she had not herself seen or

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learnt by word of mouth or by letters from the Jesuit fathers, who were dispersed far and wide in missionary work. It often happened that the reverend father who was writing or collating the *Relation*, communicated to her those memoirs in order to get her opinion as to what he should transmit to his friends in France and the Benefactors of the House." There are in all 221 letters, which cover a description and discussion of much that occurred of importance in the Colony and in the mission field till 1671, the date of her last letter. The last paragraph of this last letter tells of the report that the English had forestalled the French mission to Hudson Bay led by Father Albanel, and concludes with the prayer that "those who have gone on that expedition of discovery may still succeed in planting the cross with the *fleur de lys* in the face of the English." The cross and the *fleur de lys* are inseparable in her letters, and therefore they express the spirit which inspired Canadian colonisation.

Neither Bishop Laval nor any of the first generation of secular priests of the Seminary have left any published narrative; but in the archives of the Bishop's palace of Quebec there are great stores of reports and letters from the curés, who, till the Bishopric of Saint Vallier, were under the direction and fiscal power of the Seminary. The second Bishop, however, Saint Vallier, then Grande-Vicaire of Bishop Laval, visited Canada, and wrote in 1688 a most enthusiastic description of the moral, religious, and social conditions of the Colony in a small book entitled "*État présent de l'Église et de la Colonie Française*." He somewhat modified his estimate of the people when he knew them more intimately, and came face to face with the spirit of independence which was growing up in New France, and which was so incomprehensible to a courtier, who

had accepted as his right in Old France, the obsequious servility of all inferiors.

But Montreal produced a historian who told the story of that ecclesiastical colony year by year from 1640 to 1672. The manuscript was first published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1871. It is unsigned but is recognised as having been written by the Rev. François Dollier de Casson, a priest of St. Sulpice, and the third Superior of their mission in Montreal. It is still a rule or habit of this community to obscure personality by publishing anonymously. The *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, a work in three volumes, written by Abbé Faillon, a priest also of St. Sulpice, appears without the name of an author on the title-page.

A Jesuit priest, Father Du Creux, latinised as Creuxius, compiled, principally from the Jesuit *Relations* and other sources in the archives of the Society, his *Historiæ Canadensis*. It was published by Cramoisy, the publisher of the *Relations*. Du Creux's name does not appear among the members of that Order who visited America. The criticism of his work by Father Charlevoix, himself a Jesuit, in the preface to his *History and General Description of New France*, is terse and correct. "Father Du Creux did not appreciate that details introduced appropriately into a letter become unbearable in a consecutive history, after they have lost all the charm of novelty."

A Jesuit, Mathew Tanner, published in Prague in 1673 a folio volume, lauding the missionary efforts of the Jesuits in every quarter of the globe, Canada included. And in the following year there was a brochure published in Paris, describing the *Motifs de la Société de Montréal* as a missionary rather than a colonising enterprise.¹

¹ See Charlevoix for both books—6th vol., Shea's edition p. 403.

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André Thevet, after wandering far and wide over the known world, accompanied Villegagnon to Brazil, and described, in 1558, in *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique*, what he saw of the American continent south of the equator. He concludes his book with a description of Canada, gathered from Jacques Cartier's voyages and probably from the narratives of fur traders.

A more original narrative is that of Nicholas Denis, who was a governor of the north shore of l'Acadie and a large land owner. He published in 1672 a *Description Géographique et Historique des Côtes de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. The book is the more valuable in that, whatever may have been the intention of the author as expressed in the title, he virtually confines himself to a recital of what he actually saw and knew from a long residence on the peninsula.¹

The same cannot be said of Laet's description, published in 1640, of the geography, natural history, and ethnology of North America, nor yet of the famous volume on the *Origin of the American People*, by Hugo Grotius which excited some controversy in the seventeenth century.

There were very few books published by laymen who were resident in Canada. Pierre Boucher, who was Governor of Three Rivers and was a delegate from the colonists in 1662 to lay their grievances before the French King, wrote a little book for intending emigrants.² He gives prices of commodities in the Colony; describes its resources; portrays the Indians; and while he concludes that "good people may live in Canada

¹ The book has been admirably translated and annotated for the Champlain Society.

² *Histoire Véritable et Naturelle des Mœurs et Productions du Pays la de Nouvelle France Vulgairement ditte le Canada.*

very contentedly," he warns "bad people to keep away because they are too closely watched by the Jesuits."

Nicolas Perrot was a *courieur des bois* among the Indians of the lakes from 1665 to 1684, and was subsequently employed as intermediary between the Indians and Governors La Barre, Denonville, and Frontenac during his second term. He wrote his adventures under the title of *Mémoires sur les Mœurs, Costumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. His book is without exception the best account we have of the Indians of the upper lakes, their intertribal quarrels, and their relations with the French. It lacks style, but it is free from the suspicion of exaggeration, which attaches to all books of higher literary merit, whose writers can hardly ever resist the temptation to invent, if they can say something clever; nor could he be poetic, for the best of reasons, which was, as he states in his closing paragraph, that he was short of paper. The book is the antithesis of the four volumes which the learned Jesuit Lafitau wrote on the *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains Comparées aux Mœurs des Premiers Temps*.

But if the literature of native Canadian laymen is scanty, we have two books written by French officers who were stationed in Canada; the first of which at any rate counteracts the impression, that one gathers from the letters of the priests, that the colonists were very pious and the Indians very susceptible to religious influences. The *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, depuis l'An 1683 jusqu'en 1693*, was written by the Baron de La Hontan. He went to Canada as a private; but being a man of rank, and educated, he rose from the ranks. He did not like the priests and resented especially the interference with his liberty by the Sulpicians, who as *seigneurs* exercised

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both civil power and ecclesiastical control in Montreal. His book, published at The Hague in 1703, and dedicated to his Majesty, Frederick IV, King of Denmark, became extremely popular, "on account," as Father Charlevoix says¹ "of the great liberty he gave to his pen, which made his story, though utterly unreliable, sought after with avidity by every one."

The other work by a French officer, M. de la Potherie, was acceptable to the authorities and was published in Paris in 1722. Though entitled *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* it is in the form of letters. The author left France in 1697, landed in Newfoundland, and before he reached Canada took part in Iberville's expedition to Hudson Bay, which resulted in the capture of Fort Nelson. His description of men and women, trade and places, is not as racy as La Hontan's, and possibly not more correct.

If Sagard's narrative is overloaded with ecclesiastical details, this cannot be said of the work of another Recollect, Father Hennepin. He started with La Salle to explore the Illinois country and to reach the Mississippi, and preceded him to the destination. His is one of the most interesting of all books of adventure, but also one of the least reliable of travellers' tales. He told the story in instalments. The first instalment, *Description de la Louisiane—Nouvellement Découverte au Sud-ouest de la Nouvelle France*, was published in 1683, and dedicated to the King of France. But as the stories of La Salle's own explorations and those of others were published, Hennepin enlarged, in successive editions, his recollections of his own exploits. For that reason, after his return from Canada, the Superior of his order objected to his book being issued in France, and thus, probably not against his will, the edition of

¹ Vol. i., p. 86, Shea's Edition published by Edwards.

1698 was printed in Utrecht, and was dedicated to William III of England. His books were so popular that twenty-two editions of the first, second, and third parts appeared between 1683 and 1700, and twenty-six during the first half of the eighteenth century, in the French, Dutch, Italian, and English languages.

But we possess two other narratives which, though not as amusing as Hennepin's romance, carry the conviction of veracity, and were written under keen personal emotion. They are *Les Dernières Découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Salle Mises au Jour par M. Le Chevalier Tonti*, La Salle's faithful lieutenant; and the *Journal Historique du Dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Salle Fit dans le Golfe de Mexique par M. Jouret*, who was with him on his last fatal journey.¹

And Father Membré of the same Order as Hennepin, who accompanied La Salle in 1682 on his expedition towards the Gulf, gives a very matter-of-fact account of what befel them, in striking contrast to Hennepin's vivid description of what he actually saw, or imagined he saw.²

Who really first discovered the Mississippi is a subject of dispute. The balance of evidence seems to be that Louis Joliet, who accompanied Père Marquette of the Society of Jesus, was really the first Frenchman to reach the Mississippi (1673). Unfortunately Joliet's journals were lost by the upsetting of his canoe just before he reached Montreal in 1674; but Father Dablon transmitted to France that same year a *Relation*

¹ The *Relation Officielle de l'Enterprise de Cavelier de la Salle de 1679-1681* is published (vol. i., 433) by Margry. The Journal of M. Jean Cavelier, a brother of La Salle, is published as a translation. Shea's *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*.

² Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, vol. i., p. 151.

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de la descouverte de plusieurs pays situez au midi de la Nouvelle-France faite en 1673. It was no doubt derived from Joliet's reminiscences. An incomplete copy of Marquette's own journal was transmitted in 1675 to France by Father Dablon. Unfortunately the *Relation* of 1677 recorded Marquette's death,¹ which prevented any fuller account of their great discoveries by co-operation of the two explorers.

The official memoirs and the narratives, republished or for the first time printed, dealing almost exclusively with the energetic efforts of Frenchmen to confine the English to the seacoast, and prevent the expansion of the English colonies to the north-west and south by defending this territory by a chain of forts, fill the six bulky volumes of Margry's *Découvertes des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud 1614-1698*. But a wealth of material remains in manuscript.

A book with a mere varnish of veracity, though written with correct local coloring, is *Aventures du Sr. C. Le Beau ou Voyages Curieux et Nouveaux, parmi les Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, published in Amsterdam, like so many other French books which

¹ The *Relation* of 1674 by Père Dablon, the Superior General of the Jesuit Mission, tells from Joliet's verbal narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Père Marquette, and regrets the loss of Joliet's manuscript by the upsetting of his boat in the Sault Saint Louis. He promises however that, as Père Marquette had kept a copy of the document, it would be transmitted to France the following year. It did not appear in print, but it was written in the manuscript, with Père Dablon's corrections and annotations, was preserved in the Jesuit archives of Quebec, and given by the last member of the old succession, Père Cazot, to the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu, and by them returned to the Order on their return to Canada in 1842. It was translated and published by Dr. J. Gilmary Shea in 1855, and reproduced in 1861 in the *Relations Intégrées de 1672-1679*, under the admirable editorship of Père Martin (published by Charles Douniol, Paris). The incidents of travel are told with such greater detail than the missionary reflections that we may assume that Père Dablon's version of Père Marquette's narrative is substantially drawn from Joliet's Journal.



Alleged Portrait of Jacques Marquette, S. J.

could not pass the censor in France. Le Beau was a young French gentleman, exported against his will to Canada, and the story of how he escaped from Canada and of his adventures among the Indians, if not true, is amazingly well told.

These sources of historical information are subordinate to the mass of official documents contained in the despatches and correspondence between the authorities in France and the officials in Canada, a small portion of which fills fourteen volumes that have been published by the Province of Quebec. The records of the Sovereign Councils fill six bulky volumes. Most of the Canadian records were removed to France after the conquest. Their bulk was enormous, and they have not yet been thoroughly sorted and filed, still less printed.

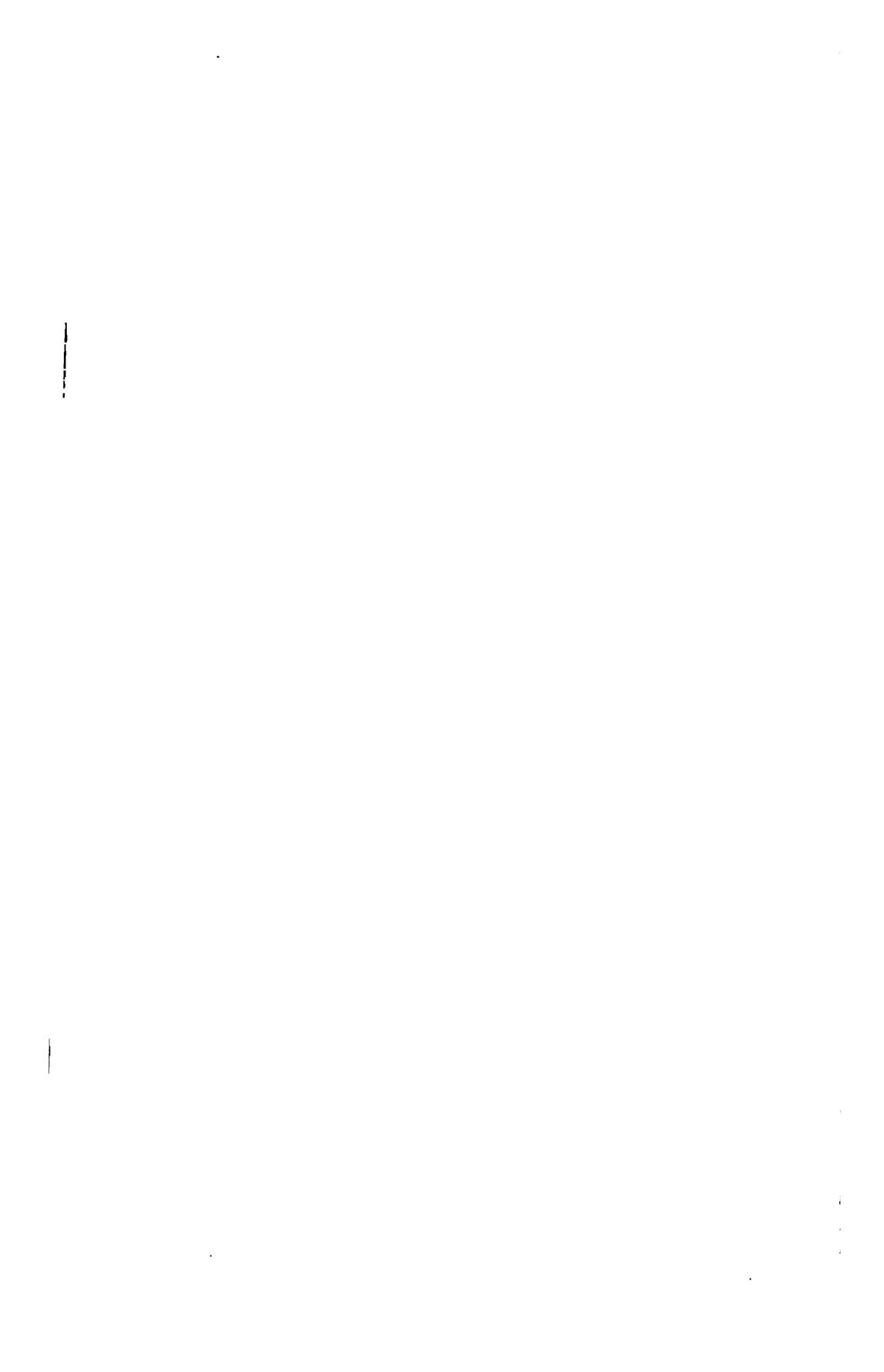
The archives of the Jesuits and those of the Franciscan Order of friars must contain a vast store of historical matter, probably more true to actual facts than what was written by them for publication. In the Bishop's palace and the seminary of Quebec are preserved in the reports of the parish priests of the diocese for two centuries and a half a store of local as well as general information. And as the registers of every parish of New France and French Canada have been kept with scrupulous fidelity, they contain material which is already being used by many *curés* in writing the annals of their parishes. Sir James Le Moine in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, gives a list of thirty-eight local histories written by priests between 1850 and 1896.

CHAPTER IV

ON SOME OF THE CONTEMPORANEOUS DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE FOR THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND

WILLIAM BRADFORD, who became Governor of Plymouth Colony on Carver's death in the April following the landing of the Pilgrims, published in London in 1622, in collaboration with Edward Winslow, a *Diary of Occurrences Covering the First Year of the Colony from the Landing at Cape Cod on November 9, 1620, to December 8, 1621*. But his history, entitled *A History of Plimoth Plantation*, of the Puritan Church in Holland from 1602; of the negotiations preceding the emigration to America; and of the faring of the Colony till 1647, though written late in life in the form of a diary, was probably recast from manuscript material jotted down from day to day. The history is an autobiography, as Bradford was re-elected Governor till his death in 1657, except for five years, during Winslow's three and Price's two terms.

The manuscript was preserved in the old South Church of Boston till 1775. It was taken to England on the breaking out of the Revolution and lost to sight till 1855, then it was recognised in the Lambeth-Palace library, as Bradford's Journal, by Rev. S. Barry. It has been restored—not to the South Church, but to the Massachusetts State House. It is one of the



Of plimoth plantation.

And first of y^e occasion, and judgments ther unto, the which
act y^e may truly vnsould, y^e must begin at y^e very roote & rife
of y^e same. the which y^e shall endeavor to manifest in a plaine
stile; with singular regard unto y^e simple truthe in al things;
at least as farre near as my plenier judgments can attaine
the same.

i. Chapter i.

It is well knowne unto y^e godly, and judicious, how ever since y^e
first breaking out of y^e light of y^e gospel, in our Honourable na-
tion of Englynd (which was y^e first of nations, wherof Lode al-
ed ther with, after y^e grete darknes of xropy which had cover-
ed, & oversprent y^e Christian world) what wars, & oppisicions ent-
since Satan had reisit, maintained, and continued against the
saints, from time to time, in one sorte, or other. Sometimes by
bloody death & cruell tormentes, otherwhiles yngyernments, banis-
hments, & other grye usages: As being loath his kingdom shoulde goe
downe, the truthe preuale; and y^e Churches of god reverte to their
conciencie purifie; and recover, their primitive order, libertie,
beautie: But when he could not preuale by these meane, against
the maine truthe of y^e gospel, but that they began to take rootyng
in many places; being watered with y^e bloud of y^e martires,
and blessed from heauen with a gracious excrease. He then be-
gane to take him to his anciene strategemas, used of old agaynd
the first Christians. that taken by y^e Bloody, & barbarous per-
secutions of y^e Heathen Emperours, he could not stope, & subdue
the course of y^e gospel; but that it speedily oversprent, with
a wonderfull Celerite, the then best knowne parts of y^e world.
He then begane to sow errors, heresies, and wonderfull
dissentions amongst y^e profyours them selues (mocking y^e pudentia
pride, & ambition, with other corrupte pasions, y^e incident to
al mortall men; yea to y^e saints them selues in some measure)
by which woful effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, &
hauing, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But
Satan tooke occasione aduantage thereby to saynt in a number
of vnde ceremonys, with many unprofitable lannons, & decess
which eue since beene as snare, to many spoyl, & peccable
souls, euen to this day. So as in y^e anciene times, the persecuti-

Scandals upon them; and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning & complaining to the parliament also Samuel Gorton & his company made complaints against them. so as they made choyse of Mr. Winslow to be their agent, to make their defence; and gave him commission & instructions for that end in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame, or dishonour; to the shame of their aduersaries. But by reason of the great alterations in the state he was detained longer then was expected; and afterwards fell into other im-
payments their, so as he hath now bene absent this 4 years. which hath been much to the weakening of this government; without whose con-
sent, he took these employments upon him

Anno. 1647. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ And anno. 1648.)

Last Page of "History of Plimoth Plantation" by William Bradford.

sincerest, simplest, and most unprejudiced pieces of contemporaneous history ever penned.

While Bradford was writing his account of what befell the Plymouth Colony, John Winthrop also was keeping a diary, the manuscript of which, after escaping many dangers, has survived for our information. It was fortunate, for posterity and for those over whom he ruled, that Winthrop was available as the Governor over the group of strong-willed and high-principled founders of the Massachusetts Colony. He was a man whose ardent religious zeal and pronounced political aspirations were controlled and somewhat softened by a strong sense of justice and some consideration for the opinions of others; and whose temper was influenced by the tender teaching of the New rather than by the belligerent tone of the Old Testament. He was elected Governor of the new colony before even leaving London in 1629; and was subsequently the first Governor of the confederacy of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. In his history he therefore wrote of events of which he had personal knowledge and of policies in framing which he was a principal. He began a journal, as a diary, the week after he and his colonists sailed. It is therefore free from the faults which attach to documents written under the very eye of a reading and criticising public. Part of his journal was published in 1790 as a *Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachusetts and Other New England Colonies*, from the year 1630 to 1649, but it was not till 1816 that the missing third volume was discovered in the tower of the South Church of Boston. His complete *History of New England from 1630 to 1649*¹ was therefore not published till 1853. In using this title, Mr. James Savage, the editor, followed Winthrop

¹ Last entry in the Journal was November, 11 1648.

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himself, who describes his second and third volumes of manuscript as "a continuation of the History of New England."

During his life he published, under the title of *Arbitrary Government Described and the Government of Massachusetts Vindicated from the Aspersion*, a defence of his action in the Ann Hutchinson controversy, when, as Deputy Governor under Sir Harry Vane's administration, he opposed the Governor and advocated the banishment of Ann Hutchinson and her followers. A pamphlet of his was also published in 1645, *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings between the English and Narragansets*.

A truer standard of Winthrop's real character than from his political writings is afforded by the correspondence between him and gentle Mistress Margaret Tyndal his third wife, whom he married twelve years before he sailed to New England, who followed him thither in 1631, and who preceded him on the journey to the other world by two years. Some of the letters were written while England was still their home. Five, addressed to his "most sweet wife," were written during the year of their separation, when the ocean rolled between them.

A diary of the voyages of the Pilgrims and the occurrences of the first winter, till the election of Carver as Governor, with four short narratives of journeys to Indian encampments, was published in London in 1622, as *A Relation or Journal of the Proceedings of the Plantation Settled in Plimoth in New England*. The *Address to the Reader* is signed by George Mourt, a hardly disguised pseudonym for George Morton, the father of Nathaniel Morton. He had been active in furthering the plans of the Pilgrims in England, and to him these diaries, evidently not intended for publi-

cation, were sent. They tell—among other incidents—a simple story of the help extended by the Frenchmen to the little band of sick, dying, and almost defenceless pilgrims. It is a pathetic preface to the sad history of the subsequent altered relations of the two groups of Christians.¹

George Morton, or the G. Mourt of the *Relations*, came to the Colony in 1623, but died in 1628. His son Nathaniel, after his father's death, lived with Bradford, and, being a scholar and his patron's assistant, was elected secretary of the Court in 1645, and was re-elected year by year till his death in 1685. He made use of Winthrop's Journals, and of the manuscript of his "much honoured uncle Mr. William Bradford," as well as of the public records, to which he had access, in compiling *New England's Memorial*. The last entry was in the year 1662. It was published in 1669, and was the first historical book issued from the Cambridge Press in New England. It is, however, a colorless narrative, although he was a poet, or rather wrote verses. He was also author of a *Synopsis of the Church History of Plymouth* (1680). A very interesting anonymous pamphlet was unearthed in the British Museum. Its title is *A Brief Description of New England*, and its author, judged from internal evidence, was Samuel Maverick, who came to the country with Gorges in 1623. He was not in sympathy with the Puritan principles or rule. The pamphlet was probably published about 1660.

Apart from these most precious documents, written by actors in the drama, there is a wealth of contemporaneous literature, descriptive and critical, bearing on New England. Ecclesiastical controversy was

¹ Mourt's *Relation*, with Introduction and Notes by Henry Martyn Dexter, Boston, 1865.

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always rife, and was engaged in by the laity as well as the clergy. The austere government, under clerical control, was objectionable to many of the immigrants, and some of them were not backward in publishing their complaints.

Future historians of our own time will consult our newspaper files, which will then be really as rare as a New England Almanac.¹ Though a newspaper was published in Boston before the end of the century, the press censorship was so strict that, even if it had not been suppressed, its news would have been of little service to us. There came to Boston in 1686 a Mr. Benjamin Harris, who, according to Dunster, was "a noted public man, who has many good thoughts, though he has wanted the art of expressing them." He had left England because, under James II, England was "so uneasie a place for honest men" that those who could "sought out for another country." In Boston he set up a coffee, tea, and chocolate shop by the town pump, near the change, "where he issued pamphlets and broad sheets, . . . his wit being pliable to all Inventions." When, however, he printed, in 1687, without authority, a newspaper—the first published in America—entitled *Public Occurrences*, it was summarily suppressed.²

Harris undertook a herculean task, which has not yet been accomplished, for in the prospectus of his paper he hopes "that something may be done towards Curing or at least the Charming of the Spirit of Lying, which prevails among us." To this end he promises that "nothing shall be entered but what we have reason to believe is true, repairing to the fountain for our information. And when there appears any material

¹ The value of space in our large cities forbids their preservation.

² Dunster's *Letters*, p. 144. Prince Society.

1762

PUBLICK OCCURRENCES

Both FOREIGN and DOMESTICK.

Boston, Thursday Sept. 25th. 1690.

It is designed, that the Country shall be furnished more & more (if any Glue of Occurrences happen, oftener,) with an Account of such considerable things, as have appeared unto our Notice.

In order hereunto, the Publisher will take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation of all such things; and will particularly make himself beholden to such Persons in Boston whom he knows to have been for their own use the diligent Observers of such matters.

from them, as what is in the Forces lately gone for Canada; made them think it almost impossible for them to get well through the Affairs of their Husbandry at this time of the year; yet the Season has been so unusually favourable that they scarce find any want of the many hundreds of hands, that are gone from them; which is looked upon as a Merciful Providence.

While the barbarous Indians were lurking about Cetimofard, there were milling about

Facsimile of "Publick Occurrences," Number I.

The first newspaper.

Some Contemporaneous Documents 65

mistake in anything that is collected, it shall be corrected in the next."

Four years elapsed before the next newspaper was born in New England, but the Boston *News Letter*, unlike its predecessor, which died at its birth, had a life of seventy-two years. The publisher and editor was John Campbell. He, like the old-country editors of "News Letters," was the postmaster. He wisely started with a less ambitious programme than the witty Harris. He confined himself almost exclusively to extracts from English news letters, and looked to advertisements for his profits. "The news letter is to be continued weekly, and all persons who have houses, lands, farms, ships, goods, wares, etc., etc., to be sold or let, or Servants run away, or goods stolen or lost, may have the same inserted at a reasonable rate from 12 pence to 5 shillings; and not to exceed: who may agree with John Campbell, Postmaster of Boston. All persons in Town and Country may have said letter every week yearly upon reasonable terms, agreeing with John Campbell, Postmaster for the same." Nevertheless it did not pay, for though Boston had a population fourteen years later of 8000 souls, Campbell complained that he "cannot vend 300 at an impression." The 8000 was not a reading public, however much thinking they may have done.¹ The seventeenth century was in fact well advanced before newspapers were printed in England and public events freely discussed in leading articles.

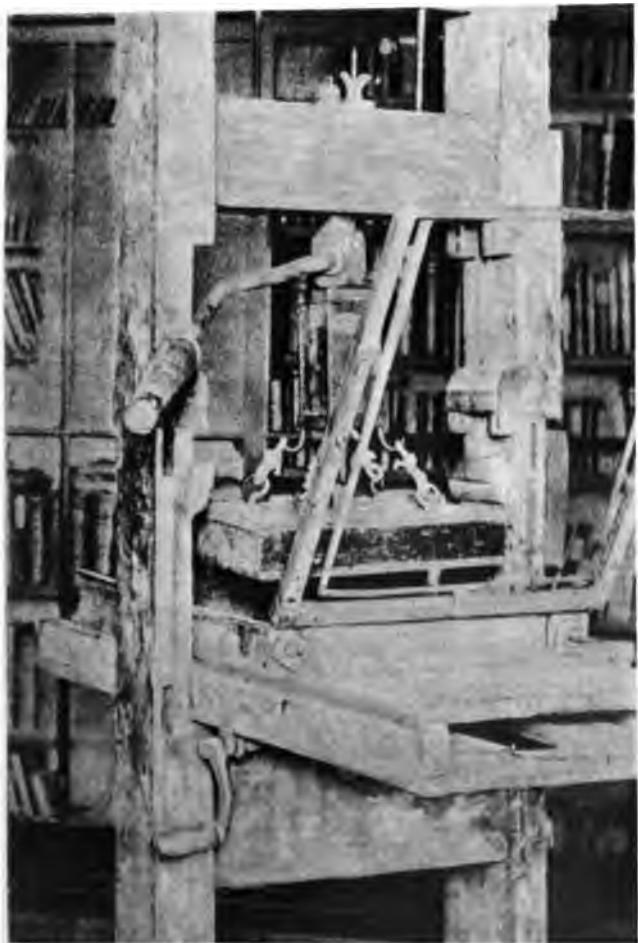
¹ A complete file of the Boston *News Letter* for the seventy-two years of its existence, is in the library of the New York Historical Society. It is not, like a modern newspaper, a repository of local news. It gives in brief the reports brought by incoming Europeans and colonials, and is careful to exclude local gossip. The advertisements at the foot of the last column are sometimes confined to Campbell's own notices of his own paper. "Public Occurrences" and "The Boston News Letter" are reprinted in part in *An Historical Digest of the Provincial Press* by the Society for Americana, Boston, 1911.

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The Cambridge Press was set up in either the end of 1638 or early in 1639. It was the gift of a clergyman, the Rev. Joseph Glover.

Josiah Quincy, in his *History of Harvard* (vol. i., p. 187), says: "This press Glover was bringing with him to New England in 1638, but he died on his passage. His widow, being possessed of considerable property, purchased an estate in Cambridge and settled there. The press was set up in this town in 1639 under the auspices of the magistrates and elders, and Stephen Daye, who had been brought over by Glover, but was the first printer. Henry Dunster, who married the widow of Glover, had the management of it in right of his wife and as President of the College. It was at first placed in the President's House, where it remained till the year 1655. Its profits were small but continued a part of the revenues of the College. The President superintended and was deemed responsible for its publications." It appeared among the assets of the College. Principal Dunster, when bemoaning its low estate, says: "All the Estate the College hath (as appears by the Inventory thereof) is only its present buildings" (and these were from his account barely tenable), "the library, a few utensils, with the press and some parcels of land."

The publications which issued from the Cambridge Press were in great measure sermons, but they are a very small proportion of the total number of discourses printed. Most of them issued from English presses. There exists an incomplete bibliography of 302 items from the pen of Cotton Mather, principally sermons or controversial tracts. The list of Increase Mather's publications include 88 titles, mostly sermons. But as the colonies progressed towards their political destiny, the political tract became the most common method of intercommunication.



The "Daye Press," believed to be the first printing-press used in
English America; now in the possession of the Vermont
Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

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The Almanac shared with the Sermon the public patronage. There issued from the colonial press sixty-five almanacs, beginning with that published in 1639 by William Peirce. Boston seems to have offered the best market, for repeatedly three per annum were issued by different publishers.

One of the earliest publications from the Cambridge Press was *The Capital Laws of Massachusetts Bay*, of which, however, not a single copy has survived. Printing the Indian translation of the New Testament by John Eliot in 1661, and his translation of the whole Bible in 1663, must have been a difficult task. The educational books were the New England Primer in English, and a Primer for the Indians. One historical book from the Cambridge Press which has since had wide currency, was Morton's *New England Memorial*. In all two hundred and three imprints are known to have been the work of Stephen Daye, Matthew Daye, Samuel Green, Marmaduke Johnson, or Green and Johnson in partnership, or Samuel Green, Senior and Junior; or upon the death of Samuel Green, Jr., of Samuel Green and his younger son Bartholomew. The imprints may be classified as follows: Broadsides, laws, proclamations, etc., twenty-two; Almanacs and ephemeries, thirty-nine; Harvard theses and educational tracts, ten; Psalms (original translations), catechism, translations of the Scriptures into the Indian language, etc., thirty-two; Sermons and theological treatises, ninety-three; one volume of poetry, *Morton's History*, and other books which may be classed as literature, seven; total, two hundred and three. Before the close of the century there were three presses in New England

The laws of both the Plymouth and Massachusetts¹

¹ The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New

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colonies have been published, but they are not bulky. The mania for legislation had not yet affected the people. The charter and its appendix of the laws of the Colony of New Plymouth for 1623-1671 are comprised in a large octavo volume of 357 pages, and the charter and the general laws of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to the date of its new charter in 1692, when it became the Province of Massachusetts Bay, fill only 211 pages of an octavo volume. The statutes and legal codes, counting out pages 18-40, which are devoted to charter of Province of Massachusetts Bay, express most conclusively, if not eloquently, the stern respect for laws of their own making and the spirit of self-government, which possessed the founders of the New England colonies. But if we would get a clear insight into the inner life of the people of either French or English origin we must look to the judgments of the Supreme Council of New France and the proceedings of the New England general courts, for though the laws were few and simple, the people of the seventeenth century were hampered, perhaps more than we are, by restrictions of their own imposition. The Edicts and Ordinances of the Sovereign Council of New France, published by the Province of Quebec, fill six volumes of about 1000 pages each, and contain the judgments from 1663 to 1716. The records of Plymouth Colony are contained in ten volumes from 1633 to 1698, and those of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1686 in five volumes, volume four being issued in two parts.

Of what claim to be histories of New England, written in or shortly after the seventeenth century, there are three which hold a place in literature—Cotton

Plymouth. Under the Supervision of William Brigham, Boston, 1836.
The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of
Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1814.

THE
VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
*Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.*

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declar-
ing not only the lawfullnes, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalmes in
the Churches of
God.

Col. iii.

*Let the word of God dwell plenteously in
you, in all wisdom, teaching and exhort-
ing one another in Psalms, Hymnes, and
spirituall songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.*

James v.

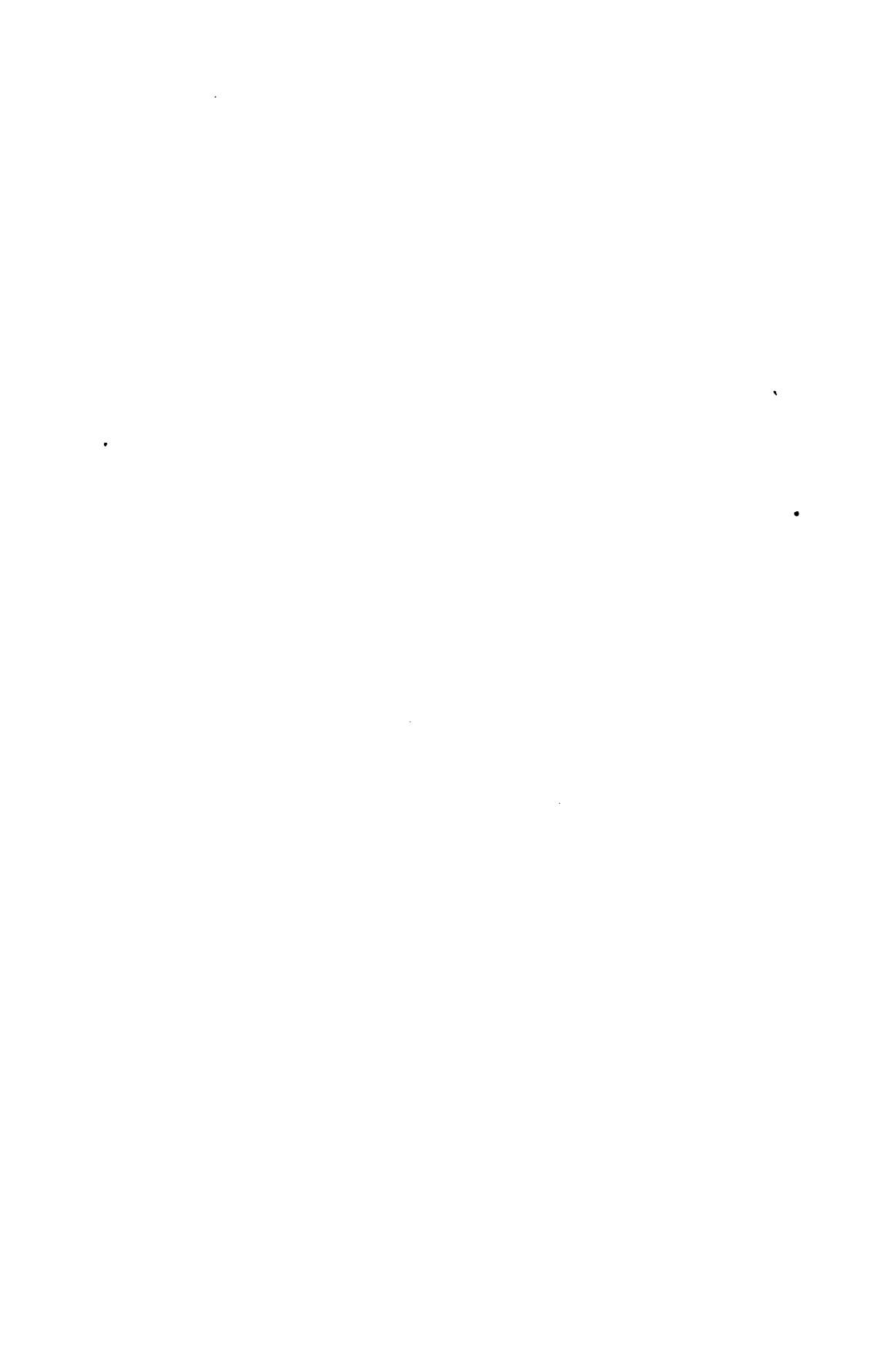
*If any be afflicted, let him pray; and if
any be merry let him sing psalmes.*

Imprinted

1640

Facsimile of the Title-page of the Bay Psalm Book.

The Third Issue from the Cambridge Press.



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Mather's *Magnalia*, Rev. William Hubbard's and the Rev. Daniel Neal's histories of New England.

Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi America, or The Ecclesiastical History of New England from its First Planting in the Year 1620 unto the Year of our Lord 1698*, printed for Thomas Parkhurst at Bible and Three Crowns, Cheapside, 1702, by its title expresses the motive of the work and the limitation of its value as history. It is written pedantically and the author succeeds in displaying an acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, and even his knowledge of Hebrew. It is diffuse in style as well as in matter. It tells the story, through the endless process of relating the biographies of the governors and magistrates, and of sixty famous divines. It describes the vicissitudes of the University of Cambridge in New England, and of the lives of the eminent people whom it educated. And it keeps the best, in the author's estimation, for the postscript—"the acts and monuments of the faith and order in the Church of New England"—a "faithful record of many illustrious and wonderful Providences" and an account of "the wars of the Lord"—by which is meant the successful persecution of heretics and all who would not accept the covenant and obey the elders; and the Indian wars of extermination.

The book expresses the narrowness and bigotry of a school of divines who during the seventeenth century obscured by their loquacity and self-assertion the incalculable debt which posterity owes to them and to the sane influence of such statesmen as Bradford and Winthrop; for both groups combined in laying the foundation of the Puritan state, on which substructure the political edifice of to-day has been built by other men, who did not always recognise the Puritan origin of the plans¹.

¹ In the preface to the edition of Wood's *New England's Prospect*,

The *Magnalia* illustrates both the temper and the principles of the men of the extreme left wing of the Puritans, who hanged the Quakers and drove out Roger Williams and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson. But they strove to live up to the standard of their laws, as they read them; and in that respect succeeded better than the examples they had chosen, the back sliding Israelites of old.

The Rev. Thomas Prince's *Chronological History of New England* (1736) is, as its title expresses it, a mere compilation made by a conscientious and most accurate scholar. The first volume, which was supplemented by a mere summary, terminates the history shortly after Winthrop's landing.

The Rev. William Hubbard, of whom we possess the most meagre biographical materials, wrote a *History of New England* to the year 1680. He was a member of the first graduating class of Harvard, was ordained in 1665, and presided over the church of Ipswich, Mass. When he was in the prime of life King Philip's War raged, and he wrote a narrative of the trouble with the Indians from 1607-1677; but as his estimate of the white man's duties to the abo-

republished in Boston in 1764, and edited, it is supposed by Nathaniel Rogers (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings of November, 1862), there are the following remarks:

"The first plan of the government established a kind of theocracy by making the words of God the rule of law. They gave the clergy infinite weight in the constitution; they were naturally the expounders of the law and in so young a country were almost the only men of learning; from these circumstances the attachment and deference to their cloth was almost implicit and for aught I know to this very cause may the greatest errors into which the country fell at its first settlement be ascribed.... No man, no community, under religious bigotry, under strong bias to the clergy, can think generously and freely. Like a Cartesian vortex it involves every sentiment within its one contracted sphere."¹

¹ Prince Society's edition, p. 26.



Cotton Mather.
From an old copper print.

rigines differed widely from that of the New England philanthropist to-day, the book is not congenial reading. His history of New England up to 1680 is a narrative compiled from official sources and composed in the spirit of the dominant party. But its tone is more moderate and fairer than the controversial writings of the period. It lacks of course the originality so conspicuous in the diaries of Bradford and Winthrop, which were used in its composition. This could only be looked for in the writings of the men who themselves were making history, and were relating motives as well as facts. Hubbard's book pleased the authorities, who paid him £50 for the manuscript, but it remained unpublished till 1815.

Rev. Daniel Neal's *History of New England to the Year of our Lord 1700* was written by a Congregational minister of England and published in 1720. Never having even been in the Colony he uses documentary information entirely, but so correctly that Prince, in criticising the book, says: "It seems to me scarce possible that any under his disadvantages should form a better." The author, however, was a scholar and so skilful a writer that his *History of the Puritans* as revised, corrected, and enlarged, is still a standard authority. His *History of New England* was the most reliable source of popular information about these colonies till Hutchinson's history appeared.

Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, so far as it relates to Massachusetts, is a compilation from the *Magnalia*. And William Douglass's ill-digested *Summary, Historical and Political, of the British Settlements in North America*, published in 1759, however valuable to the economist, would never be resorted to for general information, which it is difficult to find in it. But Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*

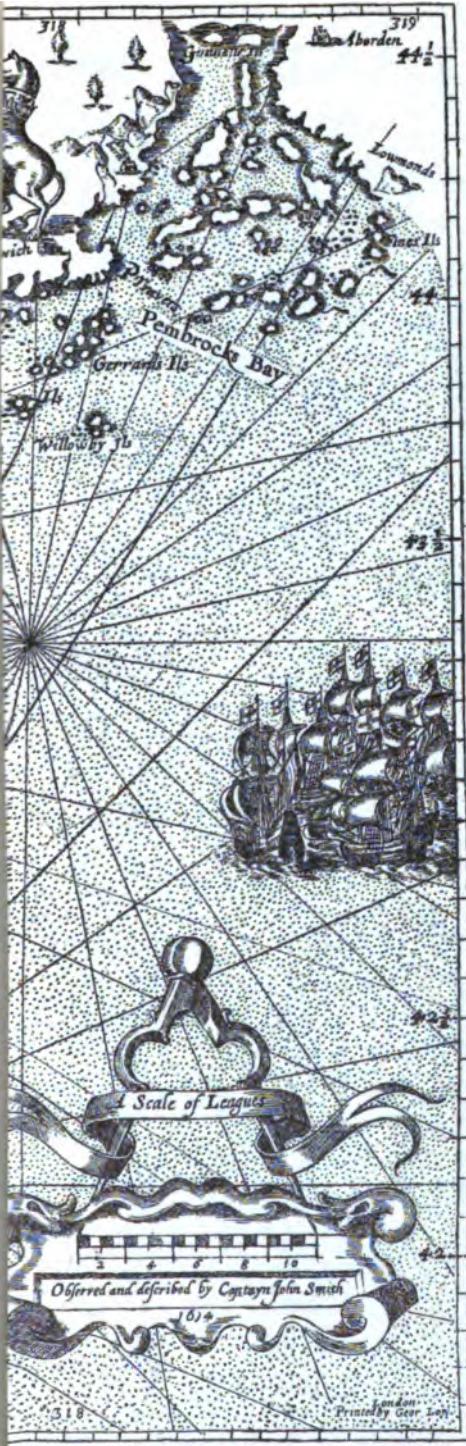
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Bay, the first two volumes covering the period till 1749, is a history in every sense of the word. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, but, having strong royalist proclivities, ended his career in England. The third volume, carrying the history from 1749 to 1774, was not published till 1828, when it appeared from the press of John Murray, edited by Governor Hutchinson's grandson, the Rev. John Hutchinson. Though born only in 1711, Hutchinson lived near enough to the seventeenth century to imbibe somewhat of its spirit. His father was prominent in commercial, political, and military life, and his grandfather was the first Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas under the old charter. Besides these family links to the previous century, he had access, not only to the journals of Bradford and Winthrop, but to the public records of the colony, which in the temper of the true historian he knew how to use.

But if comprehensive contemporary histories of the period are few, travellers were many and were then, as now, fond of telling their tales in print.

Captain John Smith of Virginia fame chanced to arrive in New England in 1614, and left us a delightful *Description of New England*—or rather of its coast and the main land for the twenty leagues inward.¹ His enthusiastic description induced “The right worshipfull Adventurers for the Country of New England” to avail themselves of a patent to occupy the country. This he was commissioned to do in 1617, and might have accomplished with results very different from what subsequently happened, had he and the fleet not been wind-bound in Plymouth for three months.

¹ Reprinted in vol. ii., of Force's *Historical Traits*, and in the new edition of Smith's Collected Works. Edited by Bradley; John Grant, Edinburgh.



But he consoled himself by writing *New England Trials* in 1622 as a spur to goad England to make the most of her opportunities, and in his last book, *Advertisement for the Unexperienced Planter of New England and Elsewhere*, he describes the hardships which the early Massachusetts colonists had to endure.

Of books of travel, perhaps the most important is John Josselyn's *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, made during the years 1638, 1663,¹ and his *New England's Rarities*, describing the flora and fauna.

William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, London, 1634, though not a book of travels, is a description after five years' residence in the country, of its geography, its resources in men, savage and tame; vegetables, fruit, and animals; and its prospects. The writer gives advice to the intending emigrant and criticises those who, expecting a life of ease, and well-built and organised towns, discover on arrival only tents and wood shanties, and that work is the lot of all. It occupies in New England literature the same position as does Pierre Boucher's *Histoire Veritable* in Canadian literature. It is written with no other motive than to describe without prejudice the new land and its occupants, whereas other books of the same period were inspired by strong bias for or against the prevailing order of things in church or state.

The most conspicuous of these productions is Morton's *New English Canaan or New Canaan*, containing an abstract of New England, "written by Thomas Morton after tenne yeares knowledge and experiment of the Country," printed at Amsterdam in the year 1637.

Morton of Merry-Mount accompanied the Wollaston expedition to the Bay in 1625. The company seems

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, III., vol. iii., p. 211.

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to have consisted of a motley crowd, bent on combining a maximum of pleasure with a minimum of work. They were the forerunners of many English immigrants drawn from the same class—the remittance men of the West. They built their house on a hill which still retains the English name of the leader of the expedition—Wollaston. It became the scene of riotous living and, as a mart of trade, a place where the Indians could readily get in exchange for their pelts what they most coveted, strong drink, guns, and ammunition. As an ensign, a Maypole was set up, and around it in season and out of season the games and gambols of Merry England were indulged in with a freedom and license which would have shocked even English villagers. As traders they interfered with the mercantile operations of Plymouth. The guns and liquor which they gave in barter for furs were a source of imminent danger to the white population, for they would inevitably pass out from the few disheartened Massachusetts to the Tarrantines of the East and the Pequots of the West. And their immoral practices were an abomination to the Pilgrims. On principle and from interest they rooted them out by force of arms, scattered the colony, and shipped Morton back to England. He returned to Merry-Mount; only to meet with more summary treatment at the hands of the Puritans, who by that time wanted his home and possessions.

It was a shadowy period that, between the landing of the Pilgrims and the establishment on the Bay of the Puritans. During it at least three futile attempts were made to colonise part of what was subsequently occupied by Winthrop and his followers. The immigrants were either traders, pure and simple like the Weston group; or Episcopalians, whose allegiance was divided between the Church and mammon, like the

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Gorges group; or such an ill-assorted company as Wollaston's, which included and welcomed men of reckless tastes like Morton; or men of avowed hostile purpose to the Puritan régime, like Sir Christopher Gardiner.

In 1849, Motley published, anonymously, the novel of *Merry-Mount*. He introduces all the real personages, and some imaginary ones, who constituted the scheming riotous crowd of Taumkaak; and by contrast depicts the prominent characters of the Plymouth and the Bay governments. Motley says in his preface: "So far as I know, the Epoch has not been illustrated by writers of fiction with a single exception. I am aware that in one of the volumes of Hawthorne's *Tales* is a story called the 'Maypole of Merry-Mount.' I was so fortunate as never to have read that particular story, and took care not to read it afterwards, feeling sure that if I did so, my own picture would be still more unsatisfactory to me." Hawthorne's "Maypole of Merry-Mount" is a short sketch in his *Twice-Told Tales*, but it gives a more vivid picture in a few pages than Motley does in his two volumes, of the gay and the grim sides of life on the Bay. The following verses from the *New Canaan* justify the clearing-out process which was so thoroughly effected by Miles Standish. They were probably Morton's own, though some of the doggerel (not to call it poetry) in the book was attributed to Gardiner.

Drink and be merry merry merry boyes;
Let all you delight be in the Hymen's joyes
Joy to Hymen now the day is come
About the merry Maypole take a Roome
Make green garlins & bring bottles out
And fill sweet nectar freely about
Uncover they head and feare no harme
For hers good liquor to keep it warme.

Nectar is a thing assign'd
 By the Deitie's owne minde
 To cure the hart opprest with griefe
 And of good liquor is the cheife.
 Then drink, etc., etc.

Give to the Mellancholly man
 A cup or two of 't now and than;
 This physick will soone revive his bloud
 And make him of a merrie moode.
 Then drink, etc., etc.

Give to the Nymphe that 's free from scorne
 No Irish stuff nor Scotch over worne
 Lasses in beaver coats come away
 Yet shall be welcome to us night and day
 To drink and be merry, etc., etc.¹

Morton, however, in spite of his grievances, is candid enough to allow a certain measure of credit to his enemies. In discussing the motives of the settlers, he says: "Among those that have settled themselves in New England, some have gone for their conscience' sake (as they prefesse) and I wish that they may plant the Gospel of Jesus Christ as becometh them, sincerely and without catisme or faction. Thatsoever their former or present practices are, which I intend not to justify, howsoever they have deserved (in mine opinion) some commendation in that they have furnished the Country so commodiously in so short a time; although it hath bin but for their owne profit, yet posterity will taste the sweetnes of it, and that very sodainly."

Morton failed to secure his revenge in the courts of either the Colony or the mother country. He joined the Gorges party in opposing the title of the Puritans to their territory, and enlisted in his cause Archbishop

¹ Prince Society's edition, *New Canaan*, p. 279.

Laud and the religious bigotry of the Established Church. But Charles and the Church party were too busy trying to ward off the threatened rebellion at home to help heartily in fomenting a rebellion on Massachusetts Bay, and therefore the only weapon left to Morton was the pen. The result of his single-handed duel is the offensive description of himself in the third book of the *New Canaan*. The first book gives a more sympathetic and fairer description of the vanishing Indians than some other contemporary records, and the second gives a most glowing account of the country, its products, and its prospects. His harsh treatment at the hands of the Pilgrims and the Puritans did not prejudice him against the land. He was not the only book-maker and pamphleteer who resented the attempt to be made religious by statute and the pillory, but the book is the most notable of its class.

Another book describing New England in the end of the century, less controversial, less prejudiced, and less rambling, though cast in the epistolary mold, is John Dunton's *A Summer's Ramble*, and there was still another, published in 1643, belonging to this class, written in a very different spirit to Morton's and by a man of less ability but more sincerity. Thomas Lechford was "a student or practiser at law," and a member of St. Clement's Inn. Between 1630-1640 he was in the full vigour of manhood and under the keenest convictions of the truth of Puritanism. He took part in the defence of Prynne and therefore came under the notice of and excited the hostility of Laud and the Star Chamber, and suffered accordingly. To secure liberty of opinion and speech he went to New England. There they wanted no lawyers and objected to some strange notions of his which anticipated Irving's hierarchy of apostles in the modern church, and to some novel

interpretations of the Apocalypse. He also got into trouble by practising without a license, but he avoided punishment for his heretical views by explaining and retracting. Nevertheless he starved for lack of employment and left New England as many an idealist has since done, disappointed because republicanism in practice did not correspond with republicanism in theory, and dissenters were found to be as intolerant of contradiction as Episcopalians. He therefore returned to the old country; recanted; joined the Church of England; gratified his preference for kings and bishops over elected governors and elders, and wrote his *Plain Dealing, or News from New England*. Nevertheless, being an educated lawyer and a fair-minded man, he has given us the best contemporaneous treatise on the Congregational Church government and the order of worship in New England, as well as a very intelligible description of the machinery introduced there for the administration of justice and the conduct of civil government.

The literature of political discontent is, however, not as bulky as that which grew out of the religious controversies and the arbitrary manner in which the civil powers settled them at the dictation of the elders. The first dissenter from the Pilgrims and the Puritans was Roger Williams. He came out in 1631 and was offered the post of teacher in succession to Mr. Winslow. He wrote afterward that he "conscientiously refused the position of teacher at Boston and withdrew to Plymouth because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination I found them to be." In a certain sense many of the Puritans considered themselves as still members of the Church of England, agreeing with its doctrines but opposing its ceremonies; accepting as their creed the standards of the Church as

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expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles, but repudiating its ritual as embodied in the Book of Common Prayer; and absolutely repudiating its system of church government. The relation of Church to State was not repugnant in principle to the churches of the Bay, for they applied it in practice themselves; but it was opposed to that complete liberty of conscience and freedom of action which Williams advocated.

The men who signed the "Humble Plea" on board the *Arbella* were not insincere nor was their subsequent conduct altogether inconsistent with their principles. Rev. William Hubbard, says of the Bay colonists: "It must not be denied that they were the offspring of the old Nonconformists, who yet always walked in a distinct path from the Rigid Separatists, nor did they disown the Church of England to be the true church, as retaining the essentials of faith and order." But Roger Williams differed *in toto* from such finely drawn distinctions, and those who held them handled him as harshly as he treated them in argument.

Five bulky volumes are filled with his answers to Cotton Mather, and his pleading for fair treatment of the Indians and complete liberty of conscience and speech for all men of every colour. His most famous book was published in 1646, when he was delayed in England, soliciting a charter for Rhode Island. The controversy between the Presbyterians and the Independents was at its height, and, therefore, Roger Williams's *Bloody Tenet* as a plea for absolute liberty of conscience and speech appeared at an opportune moment.

But the Roger Williams controversy, as between him and the Church in the Bay, was a family quarrel, and not conducted with the bitterness which character-

ised the Hutchinson Antinomian dispute, or the cruelty with which the Quaker dissent was visited.

The Antinomian controversy turned on some of the nicest metaphysical distinctions that ever interested or distressed the theological mind. It came as nearly creating a revolution in the little colony as did the great Nicene controversy in the early Church during the formative period of Christian dogma. The true theologian delights in discovering and designating by clever formulæ minute differences which are not apparent to the average intellect; and the more incapable of actual demonstration the greater latitude there is for diversity of opinion. Opinions differed, and a war of tongues waged angrily on the subject of grace and works. The Antinomian controversy gave rise to no book of literary value; but two productions, conspicuous by the absence of that quality, are of historical interest. John Wheelwright's Fast Day sermon, which was one of the exciting causes of the controversy, and his *Mercurius Americanus* are among the few mouldy remaining documents of this furious and to us unintelligible *émeute*. The latter is a rejoinder to a very long and tedious tract, most falsely called *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruine of the Antinomians, Farmelists and Libertines that Infected the Church of New England*. It is supposed to have been written by Winthrop immediately after the dissenting minority had been silenced by banishment. But it was not published for over six years. Those in England to whom the MS. was intrusted may have conceived it unwise to print it, at a time when Laud was persecuting the Puritans in England, lest justification for the cruelty of the Archbishop and the Star Chamber and the intolerance of the Church of England be found in the display of equal bigotry and similar methods of repres-

sion by the Reformers in New England. When it did appear, Charles Francis Adams supposes, it was published by some one in the interest of the Presbyterian party, which was at that time fighting for supremacy with the Independents, who followed the "New England way," which was not an attractive way, if the *Short Story* was true. It is not an unfair statement. Still it can hardly have been published with Winthrop's concurrence. He was not vindictive—quite the reverse—and would not have needlessly wounded Wheelwright, a defeated antagonist and a pious clergyman, by reviving a worn-out controversy. The diction of the *Short Story* differs from that of Winthrop's concise style when writing his Diary. But, when discussing theology, Winthrop was necessarily groping about in the dark region of speculation. When writing history he was recording what he believed to be facts. The Puritan in action and the Puritan in the pulpit were always widely different persons,—the one prompt and to the point, the other long-winded, ambiguous, and prone to hair-splitting on abstruse metaphysical propositions.

Though the Quaker persecution illustrated the extremes to which theological bigotry will carry men otherwise just and humane, it could not produce the political consequences of the Hutchinson controversy, which cemented the country and town churches, at first divided, into a compact unit in favour of orthodoxy. United, as they thus became, in support of these opinions, there was formed an effective party organisation, primarily in support of a narrow theological system, but really in defence of the laws—such as they were. There were points in the Hutchinson and Quaker systems that were identical, but the Antinomians held to them theoretically, the Quakers proceeded to put them into practice. Both professed to follow the "inner

light," but the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson never set the law at defiance as did the Quakers. Partly as a consequence, one result of the Quaker propaganda was four executions and innumerable imprisonments, scourgings, and banishments, inflicted on harmless men and women for obeying the dictates of conscience, which ran counter to certain arbitrary rulings of the court. This severity inevitably called forth a large volume of literature, which, however, covered a very narrow field of history.

The list of books elicited by the Quaker invasion and their expulsion from Massachusetts commences with Francis Howgill's *The Popish Inquisition, Newly Erected in New England*, 1659. In the following year appeared a pamphlet not inaptly entitled *A Call from Death to Life*, as it contained the letters from the Boston prison of the condemned Quakers, Stephenson and Robinson, shortly before their execution. The letters are a touching call to the people to appeal to God for light. But hardly a bitter word escaped their pens. They breathe the very spirit of Christianity, in striking contrast to the replies of some of their accusers and of such defenders as Bishop.¹

The General Court employed or appointed John Newton to write its defence, which appeared under the title, *The Heart of New England Rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation* (1659). Francis C. Howgill at once replied in a tract, *The Heart of New England Hardened*. Edward Burrough and George Bishop in his *New England Judged*, perhaps the most notable production of the whole controversy, swelled the volume of literature and added to the vocabulary of vituperation.

Nor did the flood of words cease with the century. John Whitney in 1702 was driven by Cotton Mather's

¹ Bessie Collection, vol. ii., p. 238.

violent language to reply in like terms in his *Truth and Innocency defended against Falsehood and Envy. In answer to Cotton Mather (a priest of Boston), his Calumnious Lyes and Abuses of the People called Quakers in his late Church of New England.*

The Quakers undoubtedly were a law unto themselves a crime not to be tolerated by such strict legalists as the Puritans.

The same apology cannot with as much justice be made for the executioners of the witchcraft victims. The law of Moses condemned to death witches and all who consorted with them, and so did the laws of Massachusetts; but it was theological ignorance and intolerance—not civil necessity—which instigated the enforcement of the statutes. The witchcraft literature, from the Thursday lecture of the Rev. Diodat Lawson to the present time, would fill a library, and it is not instructive reading, except to those who are studying diseases of the human mind and the perverted meaning put on natural events under false theological interpretation. The Mathers, as might be expected, defended the extreme church view; but it is to the credit of New England that one of the first protests against the hideous witchcraft delusion was made in 1700 by a Boston merchant, Robert Calef, in his *More Wonders of the Invisible World.*

The most important domestic events in New England's seventeenth century history were the two Indian wars, the Pequot War of 1637 and King Philip's War of 1675–6. Both are recorded in contemporary documents. The Pequot massacre is told by Philip Vincent whose *True Relation of the Late Battell*, etc., appeared in London before the close of the year in which the battle was fought. And another narrative by Captain John Underhill, who commanded the Massachusetts forces,

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was published shortly after. Other actors in the scenes described left manuscripts to be published long subsequently.

Of the far more serious struggle with King Philip, the son of New England's old friend Massasoit, at the head of a confederation of tribes south of Massachusetts, there were many histories in prose and verse, some written from hearsay, others by participants in the protracted struggle. Justin Martin counts sixteen publications of more or less consequence on this subject.¹

The historical material published by local societies and State governments is very voluminous. The American Historical Association in its *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* enumerates one hundred and fourteen societies collecting and publishing historical information in the following States:

In Connecticut Societies,	8
" Maine	12
" Massachusetts	71
" New Hampshire	7
" Rhode Island	7
" Vermont	9

and 7 New England Societies in other States of the Union.

The most active are the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Essex Institute. The former has published forty-four volumes of Proceedings, sixty-seven volumes of Collections, and thirty-six volumes of Original Documents. The latter society has to its credit forty-one volumes.

Three of the Connecticut Societies, the Connecticut Historical Society, the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and the New London County Historical

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd Series, vol. x., p. 345.

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Society, have published eighty-seven volumes of historical documents and proceedings.

The historical spirit and local ambition and pride are strong in New England.

CHAPTER V

THE DAWN OF FRENCH COLONIAL HISTORY IN NORTH AMERICA

ON the continent of America in the sixteenth and seventeenth century we see reproduced, in the several European schemes of colonisation, almost every phase of the political development of Europe. In the Spanish colonies the absolute control of a king through his agent permeates every department. The principle is carried into practice, that the national resources are not only nominally but actually at his disposal, and that the ruling classes as well as the members of the lower classes, represented by the natives, are chattels to be dealt with as he wills.

Though Virginia and the Southern colonies early elected a representative House, which made the laws and imposed the taxes, the Governor, nominated by the Crown, and his Council, composed chiefly of the wealthy planters, interfered in the government, and exerted a control far greater than the Governor of Massachusetts ventured to assume even under the new charter of 1692. The government of the Southern colonies really duplicated the political position in Great Britain almost up to the time of the Reform Bill. In Massachusetts, however, prior to the new charter and the cancellation of the old in 1684, the constitution of that colony with its elected governor, his elected assistants, and the

elected General Court, vested in those of the people who enjoyed the franchise, a power which no European community till then assumed.

Of course the franchise was limited, and to the extent of that limitation and of the power which the dominant party then possessed, actual popular liberty was restricted. But in New England republican rule was realised even in advance of its establishment in Europe. In all three groups of colonies the clergy played a prominent part. But the contrast between the lethargy of the Episcopal clergy in the Southern colonies, the active though non-legalised interference of the dissenting ministers in state affairs in Massachusetts, and the legal position of the clergy in the Spanish colonies and New France, is suggestive from many points of view. In fact, when we cross the undefined border between the seaboard and the valley of the St. Lawrence, we go back historically to the early feudal ages. In old France the States-General had, till the reign of Louis XIV, expressed, however feebly, the popular will; but in New France there never was the semblance of a representative assembly. The land tenures were feudal; the powers of the Church were feudal; the form of government was feudal; but the temper of the people was not. Though the Frenchman in Canada was more submissive to tradition than the Englishman in New England, transplanting even a Frenchman to the soil of the New World produced a change of species. He held his farm, it is true, nominally as a vassal; he did not question the dogma of his church nor did he leave behind him the vivacity and courteous manners of the old country; but he managed to be civil without being servile, when he landed in America. And when released from the restrictions of caste, he came to recognise himself as an essential, if not important,

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element in the small group of men who had come to conquer half a continent for France. He measured himself accordingly. On the Englishman the influence of change of home was as remarkable in the seventeenth as it is in the twentieth century. To-day the English emigrant to one of England's colonies, as soon as he steps on the soil which he is free to own, gives vent to theoretical aspirations which he at once proceeds to put into practice. He behaves very much as the Englishmen did who first landed on Massachusetts Bay.

Cartier made his first voyage of discovery in 1534, entering the Gulf by the straits of Belle Isle. He ascended the St. Lawrence on his second voyage, in the year following, to the foot of the Lachine Rapids.

When Roberval in 1542 entered the harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland, with the colonists who were to settle at Cap Rouge, nine miles above Quebec, he found seventeen fishing vessels anchored there. France always considered Newfoundland as hers by right of its annual occupation by her fishermen, and till 1713, when it was surrendered under the Treaty of Utrecht, she maintained possession of Placentia on the south coast.

Though England looked with jealousy on France's settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence and on the Mississippi, she never claimed those regions by virtue of discovery or occupation; but when France, in the middle of the eighteenth century, proceeded to infringe on the Ohio Valley, which some Englishmen had penetrated, the struggle commenced which was to end by France's exclusion from the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. Her voluntary surrender of the Mississippi, under the sale to the United States, was made by Napoleon because, after Trafalgar, he could not protect it if New Orleans had been attacked by a British fleet.

The first attempt to colonise New France by Cartier and Roberval having failed, the French government apparently did not take the initiative in furthering any other project till a charter was given to the Sieur de la Roche, in 1598. In the interval, not only did traders without special licence or exclusive privilege sail to the St. Lawrence and exchange merchandise with the Indians, but the French government in 1564, as would appear from certain receipts for arms and supplies in the archives of Rouen, contemplated sending an armed expedition to occupy some portion of New France; but whither it was bound is not stated.¹ The policy subsequently adopted by the government was, as we have shown, to encourage colonisation through the agency of trading companies, endowed with monopolistic privileges.

De Monts was one of the Huguenots who had secured trading concessions in return for fulfilling certain colonisation conditions. And of all the *concessionnaires* he alone deserves the credit, which is not generally accorded him, of believing in the destiny of the St. Lawrence, of risking again and again his fortune in developing its trade, and of being the real founder of Quebec. Champlain was only his lieutenant, but the agent, as events progressed, overshadowed his chief, and De Monts is forgotten and Champlain remembered and glorified. But Champlain's schooling as one of De Monts's servants in l'Acadie helped him to frame a policy when he became Governor.

What is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Maine was the debatable ground between the territories actually occupied by England and France. It was first raided by Argall of Virginia, and of Champlain's friends

¹ Gosselin's *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Marine Normande pendant les 16^{ème} et 17^{ème} siècles*.

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at Mount Desert and Port Royal some were killed, and others spared to be carried into captivity. He therefore became convinced that the greater the distance between themselves and the English the better. Another lesson which his Acadian experience taught him was the impossibility of compelling or inducing religious bigots to live together in harmony. De Monts had endeavoured to live up to his principles of liberty of conscience by trying to practise it in his Port Royal Colony, and had failed. Champlain himself was not bigoted. None of his actions reveal him in that character. But, on the other hand, he was not an eighteenth-century sceptic, or a nineteenth century latitudinarian, in theology and politics. He was a sailor and a civil governor, and knew the value of harmony and obedience. A French official could not be expected to appreciate the merits and foresee the ultimately beneficent consequences of the New England system, in its application to matters of State as well as of Church. In truth, it was not till long after Champlain and several subsequent generations were in their graves that the revolutionary outcome of New England Puritanism was developed. But what did happen before Champlain's death was that theological controversy was already waxing so hot in New England as to disturb public tranquillity and lead to schism and sectionalism. In that turbulent and transitional period, when the battle was raging between the forces of tradition and reason, it would perhaps have been criminal to agree to the innumerable and often inconsistent compromises on which toleration must rest. If that be true, Champlain decided that internal peace could be secured only by coercion, even though it involved the negation of reason.

When De Monts transferred his rights and his property in l'Acadie to the Sieur de Poutrincourt, and with

the hearty coöperation of Champlain selected Quebec as the centre of a fresh colonisation enterprise, the choice must have rested between the sites of the present towns of Quebec and Montreal. Up to that date most of the exchange of furs had been conducted with the Montagnais tribes of the Saguenay and the lower St. Lawrence at Tadousac. The far greater wealth of the West, which ultimately made Montreal the centre of the fur trade, was not then known. Quebec, therefore, was selected, as it afforded a conspicuously favourable site for defence, in the vicinity of a larger stretch of rich level land than any other locality, on either shore of the lower St. Lawrence, offered. And it lay midway between the Saguenay and the Ottawa, which were the two principal channels of trade.

Neither a priest nor a minister was invited to join the first instalment of settlers to the new colony. Whether this was accidental, or not, is open to doubt; but as, when De Monts established his trading post at Quebec in the summer of 1608, his concession carrying trade monopoly was expiring, he could not have been expected to import other colonists than wage-earners. The concession expired and De Monts and his partners for four years carried on competitive trade apparently without privileges.

In founding Quebec, he did, however, establish a trading post, where his rivals did not find the traffic in furs sufficiently profitable to induce them to build an opposition fort, or even to face the severity of a Canadian winter; nor did they venture to extend their operations farther up the rivers or to wander far from their ships. They came with the spring and sailed away in the autumn with what furs they could collect. They generally took greater nautical risks than the De Monts company was willing to run, for Champlain

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remarks that "they exposed themselves to needless danger from the ice by reason of their insatiate greed and haste to be first at the trading resorts."

The profits from furs under free trade gave no return to De Monts or his competitors, for the price of peltries in Europe went down as the demands of the Indians went up. If the merchants lost, so did he, and therefore after four years of free trade De Monts's partners, less enthusiastic than he, decided to retire from the St. Lawrence, and their leader was obliged to dissolve the partnership. But he took an interest with their successors, the De Caens.

No attempt was made towards instituting a system of government. Champlain had, on landing in 1608, at once commenced to erect a common building, designed for the accommodation of his men and for defences against the Indians. His *habitation* was erected probably to the west of the present Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, on a small bay known as the Cul de Sac, which, till half a century ago, extended almost to the cliff. He planted a small garden and proved that the climate was propitious for raising both vegetables, fruit, and flowers; but his men were not the stuff that agriculturists are made of. On the contrary, they eagerly took to the wild free life of the woods and the Indians. Among his crew, before they had acquired a taste for American savagery, five of them engaged in a conspiracy to kill their commander, seize the ship, and turn pirates. One from fear or penitence confessed; one was tried and hanged, the others were sent to France to be dealt with as might there seem best.

Twenty-eight men were left at the *habitation* to face the winter. He himself is rather reticent as to their sufferings, but Lescarbot tells the doleful tale of how, on the 5th of June, 1609, the first ship arriving from

France found of the twenty-eight only eight haggard representatives alive. Twenty had died of scurvy, with Cartier's remedy, an infusion of sapin leaves, growing in profusion around them; but none of the Stadacona Indians remained there to prescribe the specific.

As soon as Champlain landed in 1609 he proceeded to fulfil a fateful promise, which it seems he made when exploring the river with Chauvin in 1603. He then undertook to accompany the Indians some day or other on the warpath against the Iroquois. Therefore, with Algonquin and Huron warriors he ascended the Richelieu to Lake Champlain, and somewhere towards the head of the lake came in contact with a band of Iroquois. It was the first time these magnificent savages had faced firearms. Some were killed, some captured, and the rest fled in terror. This unfortunate interference by Champlain in the interminable tribal quarrels of the Indians had almost a controlling influence over the destinies of France in the New World. It was the first serious breach of peace between the white intruders and the red denizens of the North American forests. As news travelled far and fast among the savages, it may have spread racial distrust over half the continent. At any rate it made the powerful Iroquois confederacy a staunch ally of the Dutch and subsequently of the English, and it compelled the French to assume the protection and engage in the quarrels of the weak Algonquin tribes and of the Huron nation, a defaulting member of the great Iroquois family.

The family feud, which resulted in the Huron migration from the St. Lawrence to the Georgian Bay, occurred in the interval between Roberval's failure in 1543 and Champlain's success, in 1608, in founding a French colony on the St. Lawrence.

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From the references in Cartier's narrative to the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley we may deduce the following conclusions: that there was a chain of villages between Stadacona (Quebec) and Hochelaga (Montreal) inhabited by Indians of similar habits and customs, and, therefore, of like lineage; that scattered bands of Indians of the same race frequented the south shore of the Gulf; that towards the close of this, the first attempt of colonisation by France, one at least of the communities allied itself with Stadacona to oppose the French intruders; that at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa was the largest and most powerful of these families or tribes, living in a stockaded village and exercising a certain control, if not coercion, over the Indians of the lower St. Lawrence; and that, if there was not hostility, there was at least acute distrust of each other by the Indians of Stadacona and Hochelaga. The inference is that all of these Indians were of one race but of different tribes, and that causes of disunion were operating under which they were segregating themselves into hostile groups.

That they were all of the same race Cartier himself believed, for to the narrative of his first voyage he, or his historiographer, appends a list of words which he calls "La Langage de la terre nouvellement découverte, appelée Nouvelle France," and he closes his second with another list of words and phrases from "La Langage des pays et royaume de Hochelaga et Canada, autrement appelée par nous la Nouvelle France." The majority of the words for the same object in the two lists closely agree. As he met on his first voyage only some wandering bands of the Indian tribe of Stadacona, and as the second list of words is stated to be from the language of Hochelaga as well as of Canada, we have thus

corroborative evidence that the language of both *bouregades* was substantially the same.

That the Indians of Hochelaga belonged to the great Iroquois family, the minute description of the stockaded village and of its internal organisation leaves no room for doubt; and if all the Indians of both Hochelaga and Canada, that is, of the whole valley west of Isle aux Coudres, spoke the same language, then the whole of the St. Lawrence between the Gulf and Ottawa was occupied by one or more tribes of this powerful race.

When Champlain visited Stadacona and Hochelaga in 1608, only sixty-five years after Roberval withdrew his company of unsuccessful colonists, the Iroquois name of Stadacona had given place to the Algonquin name of Quebec (Kebec) which recalled so many Norman and Breton names, such as Biquebec, Caudebec, etc., that Champlain's sailors would see a favourable omen in adopting the Indian appellation.

There were then no populous stockaded villages on the St. Lawrence. The sedentary population, possessing a social and political organisation, crude yet distinct, had vanished. Champlain found only scattered bands of nomadic Algonquins.

One Indian tradition assigns as the cradle of the Huron-Iroquois race the land south of the St. Lawrence and between it and the sea. Another tradition places the birthplace of the race on the Lakes, and makes the tribe migrate towards the sunrise as far as the sea allowed, before they return to their ancestral inland home.¹ The race itself developed into its two most distinctive types: into the tribes of the Huron, which we suppose Cartier to have found on the St. Lawrence, and those of the Iroquois confederation. The Delawares were a feeble offshoot from the parent stock.

¹ Beecham's *Iroquois Trail*, p. 11.

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The Hurons, when first known distinctly as such, occupied the eastern shore of the Georgian Bay, and were at bitter feud with their brethren of the Five Nations, whose stockaded towns extended over the Genesee and Mohawk valleys south of Lake Ontario, almost from the Niagara River to the Hudson. The breach of the relations between these two branches occurred in the interval between Roberval's departure and Champlain's appearance on the scene. We may fill the gap in the historical pictures by assuming that the Mohawk confederation swept down on their kindred, settled on the St. Lawrence, allied themselves with the Indians of either Hochelaga or Stadacona, and were successful in subduing the isolated tribe, whichever it was, and compelling it either to migrate or to enter the confederation. The vanquished decided to migrate. They reappear as the Hurons on Georgian Bay. For their new home they would naturally choose some locality, situated at what they considered a safe distance from the Iroquois canoes. There they would have space in which to grow, and opportunity to create, by affiliation, another confederation, with which to oppose their implacable enemies. No better spot could have been selected than the shores of the Georgian Bay. Between them and their enemies there lay, not only Lake Ontario, but the whole peninsula of western Ontario, peopled by the Neutres, the Petuns, and other tribes of the Iroquois stock, who, if not their allies, dreaded the members of the confederacy as acutely as they did themselves.

The story of the conversion to Christianity of the tribes; the tragic sequel in the massacre of their whole flock with their Jesuit pastors in their retreat on Lake Huron; and the flight of the small remnant, who had escaped the relentless Iroquois, to the St. Lawrence

under the protection of the French, forms one of the most pathetic chapters of the history of New France. But the events which were enacted in this dark corner of the continent, during the half century or more of obscuration, between the Cartier and Champlain expeditions, can be a subject for speculation only. We cannot imagine that the small migratory bands of Algonquin hunters, without organisation or policy, whom Champlain found on the St. Lawrence, destroyed the stockaded town of Hochelaga, after subduing the populous inhabitants of Stadacona and its vicinity. It was only when, as we conceive, the combined strength of the Iroquois confederation had crushed the Huron Iroquois, that the poor wandering Micmacs, or whoever the Algonquins may have been, ventured to enter on the vacated territory. More noble savages than these poor nomads had certainly enacted this tragedy of extermination on the St. Lawrence. But while these cruel and wily red-skinned politicians and warriors, in the dense forests of America, were framing policies, negotiating alliances, waging war with relentless ferocity, and watching with sleepless vigilance their opportunity to kill and torture; while one fleet of canoes was stealthily moving to points of attack and another noiselessly carrying its crews to some secluded place of safety; while the game of statecraft and of war was being played with no public to applaud or condemn, but with an energy as intense and with cunning as acute as if the drama was being enacted on a wider stage and the issues were of world-wide interest: the same qualities were being exercised on the other side of the sea, but amidst different surroundings and with different results. Nevertheless what transpired during those sixty-five years in the hidden recesses of that great silent land—the building up or strength-

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ening of the Iroquois confederacy, the migration of the Hurons to the Georgian Bay, and the abandonment of the St. Lawrence to the impotent Algonquins, were incidents of no slight importance in giving shape and direction to the early history of New France, New Amsterdam, and New England, and in creating influences which are still operative.

In Europe at that period, opposing powers acting under conflicting principles were gathering themselves together into hostile camps. Unfortunately they transferred their quarrels to the New World. But this was unavoidable, for the reformation in religion was only one expression of the great revolution in thought and morals which had been slowly working in Europe, and which must inevitably be transplanted, as a racial heritage, to America where the lines of demarcation were more clearly drawn than in Europe. For there was no mixture of opposing religious elements in either of the two communities of New France and New England. In New England the determination of the colonists to govern themselves, and brook no interference from England in carrying their ecclesiastical or civil ideas into practice, was the controlling motive of political life; while in New France the colonists were willing to submit obediently to be governed from Versailles, and in matters of religion they were only too eager to be relieved from the trouble of thinking for themselves.

In allying himself with the Hurons and the Algonquins against the Iroquois, Champlain of course did not know and could not appreciate the strength of the Iroquois confederacy in men and organisation. He may have acted from impulse—not policy; but he more probably was moved by motives of self-interest. Though he knew little about the Iroquois, he knew



Champlain's First Battle with the Iroquois.

Champlain, Edition of 1613.

well the pushing character of the English, and may have appreciated that they would sooner or later be the dominant power on the Atlantic seaboard. If so, some line of demarcation would necessarily have to be drawn, and a sphere of influence, if not of possession, prescribed, within which the merchants of the rival nations might trade. Such a line would naturally be the upper St. Lawrence and the Lakes, whose existence he knew of, though he dreamed not of their extent. He was the agent of a trading company, and the commercial interests of his company were rightly his first concern. If he enlisted on the side of the company all enemies of the Iroquois, both that powerful tribe to the north of the Lakes and also the Algonquins on the St. Lawrence and in the interior of the Acadian peninsula, he would monopolise their peltries and secure the trade of the vast interior, the illimitable extent of which, as described by the natives, must have set his imagination aglow. Should the English occupy the coast, let them ally themselves, if they would, with the Five Nations, and get what profit they could out of the fringe of territory between the Atlantic and the Lakes! He was willing to forfeit the trade of the lesser territory if he could secure that of the greater; and joining the Hurons in their warfare against the Five Nations was perhaps the best means of attaining that end. Six years later, in 1615, when he certainly knew the country and its people better, he went with a band of Hurons to Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, and joined them in a raid on an Onondaga stronghold. Even his firearms in this encounter did not insure success. But the year spent with the allies in the heart of the continent enlarged his knowledge and inflamed his enthusiasm about France's great domain.

Those two first attacks by the French against the

Iroquois were not made either as defensive movements or to punish the confederacy for actual inroads. In this respect they differed from the attitude of the Puritans to the Indians. Though these looked upon aborigines very much as the Israelites looked upon the heathen of the Promised Land, they did not provoke war, though nothing loath to engage in it.

As soon as war broke out between foes armed with such unequal weapons as firearms and bows and arrows, guns and ammunition became the most valuable articles of barter between the fur trader and the Indian hunter. Hardly less alluring was alcohol. When competition was acute the trader's character in the struggle for gain with his fellow white man, lowered him in the sight of the Indian, while his methods of dealing and the currency he used, chiefly alcohol, everywhere demoralised the savage. Regulated trade, through government concession and control, seems to be the only method of dealing profitably or humanely with the Indian as a fur hunter.

But to return. On the De Monts Company abandoning the field, Champlain, nothing daunted, assisted, if he did not take the lead, in organising another company. He now sought assistance, not from the Huguenot merchants of the northern and western seaports, whose cause was clearly on the decline, but from a statesman of the royal house; one who, commanding influence at Court, could procure concessions that mere traders could not secure, and who could effectually resist the protests against the monopoly made by merchants of provincial towns. Such a partner was Charles de Bourbon, the Count de Soissons. He, however, died on November 12, 1612, and his commission of governor was transferred by the Queen Regent to Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé. He appointed Champlain his lieutenant.

This new company of Quebec adventurers, though as strenuously bent on trade as its predecessor, was moved by a more sincere, though not very ardent, desire to christianise the Indians. It must be remembered that individually no Frenchmen then left the mother country—few do even now—at their own risk and on their own initiative, to seek their fortune in the wilds of an unknown and barbarous land. Even few English colonists of that date emigrated except as shareholders in a trading company, such as that of Virginia, or as a congregation of worshippers, following their pastor from persecution, and retaining their ecclesiastical identity. Priests went under this new company to Canada, but their congregations did not follow them. Champlain took a census of the population in 1622, fourteen years after Quebec was founded, and it numbered only fifty souls; and at the date of the organisation of this second company not a single family had migrated as permanent settlers.

Champlain spent the summer of 1613 in exploring the upper Ottawa, postponing his promised campaign against the Iroquois for two years. These he spent in France, with his young wife, née Helene Boullé, whom he had married the year before. While opposed to free trade, he favoured permitting the inhabitants of the Colony to traffic with the Indians, but only as agents of the company. He was, however, overruled, and probably wisely. He therefore threw himself heart and soul into securing a concession for the company's franchise, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the commercial interests, which had enjoyed a few years of untrammelled traffic under free trade. The association, under the Prince of Condé, permitted any merchant to be a member and to share in its trade, but this provision did not satisfy the merchants of Rouen and St.

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Malo. It was probably limited by conditions that made the concession valueless to them. The company would seem to have been constituted on the plan of the English Regulated Companies of the sixteenth century, which allowed any member to trade on his own account within the sphere of the company's operations. This concession was all the merchants could wring in the meantime out of the government, and the Parliament of Rouen published it only after much opposition and delay.

Champlain was also active in negotiating for the services of Catholic clergy. He had acquired a bitter dislike to the Dominicans and dread of the Inquisition when in the West Indies¹ and therefore he preferred

¹The following is a quotation from his *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (Hakluyt Society, 1859), p. 38. "At the commencement of his (the King of Spain's) conquests, he had established the Inquisition among them, and made slaves of or caused them to die cruelly in such great numbers, that the sole recital would cause pity. This evil treatment was the reason that the poor Indians, for very apprehension, fled to the mountains in desperation, and as many Spaniards as they caught they ate them; and on that account the said Spaniards were constrained to take away the Inquisition, and allow them personal liberty, granting them a more mild and tolerable rule of life, to bring them to the knowledge of God and the belief of the holy church; for if they had continued still to chastise them according to the rigor of the said Inquisition, they would have caused them all to die by fire. The system that is now used is, that in every estance (estancis), which are like our villages, there is a priest who regularly instructs them, the said priest having a list of the names and surnames of all the Indians who inhabit the village under his charge.

"There is also an Indian, who is as the fiscal of the village² and he

²Indian Fiscal. "According to the size of the village, the church will have a certain number of singers, of trumpeters and players of the hautbois, over whom the priest appoints a certain officer, whom they call the fiscal, who walks before them with a white staff in his hand, having a cross of silver at the top, to show that he is an officer of the church. On the Sundays and feast days he is obliged to assemble the young men and girls at the church, before and after the service."—Gage's *Voyage*.

as missionaries the followers of St. Francis. His experience of the Jesuits in l'Acadie may have prejudiced him against them. Heretofore at Quebec, perhaps to avoid dissent, as there must have been some Huguenots at the post, no priests had been imported; but to the new administration, presided over by a good Catholic governor, it was abhorrent that the faithful should be deprived of the rites of the church, and that no effort had been made to christianise the Indians. Four Recollet Friars, therefore, came out with Champlain in the spring of 1615.

With the advent of the priests at Quebec the character of the future colony was determined. Though the majority of the old company's financial supporters may have been Huguenots and some Huguenot merchants continued to be interested in Canadian trade, and Huguenot clerks were employed by them, the Colony henceforth was strictly under Roman Catholic control in matters ecclesiastical and theological. When Henry IV, with his Protestant education and liberal proclivities, fell a victim to the assassin, it was a fore-

has another and similar list; and on the Sunday, when the priest wishes to say mass, all the said Indians are obliged to present themselves to hear it; and before the priest begins the mass, he takes his list, and calls them all by their names and surnames; and should any of them be absent, he is marked upon the list, and the mass being said, the priest charges the Indian who serves as fiscal, to inquire privately where the defaulters are, and to bring them to the church; in which, being brought before the priest, he asks them the reason why they did not come to the divine service, for which they allege some excuse, if they can find any; and if the excuses are not found to be true or reasonable, the said priest orders the fiscal to give the said defaulters thirty or forty blows with a stick, outside the church, and before all the people.

"This is the system which is maintained to keep them in religion, in which they remain, partly from fear of being beaten. It is nevertheless true, that if they have some just reason which prevents them coming to the mass, they are excused."

gone conclusion that the concessions to reform, made by the edict of Nantes, would at least not be enlarged; and that consequently Huguenot immigration and Huguenot commercial enterprise would not be encouraged in the French colonies. Furthermore, at a later period, when the outcome of religious reform in England had resulted in the destruction of the monarchy, the execution of the King, and the establishment of a Commonwealth, it is not to be wondered at if no Huguenot colonist was permitted to enter and sow discord and his pernicious doctrines in a community where the Jesuits and Marie de Medici held sway. But it was well for Canada that her first missionaries were followers of the gentle Francis d'Assisi, and that she never had to cower under the tyranny of the Dominicans, nor submit to their methods of evangelisation.¹

The Recollets selected to found the mission were Fathers Denis Jamay and Joseph Le Caron, Monseigneur d'Olbeau and Brother Pacifique du Plessis. On arriving at Tadousac, Father d'Olbeau, in his eagerness to enter on his work, took the first boat for Quebec, in advance of Champlain, and even preceded him to the Indian rendezvous at Grand Sault above Montreal. But it

¹ Though there may have been few or no Protestant colonists, they continued to trade on the St. Lawrence. In 1658, Margaret Bourgeois of Ville Marie (Montreal) made a voyage to France in the *Sainte Barbe* to recruit sisters for her congregation. She says in her Journal: "The ship in which we were obliged to sail from Quebec had a crew of only six men and all of them were Protestants. (For men of that religion were at that time permitted to trade in Canada.) Mlle. Mance and I were the only Catholics on board. We seldom left the battery (*chambre aux canons*) which was assigned as our cabin. There we could say our prayers and practise our exercises of piety without interruption. As to the crew, they chanted betimes their prayers, though we never joined with them. When Mlle. Mance made some complaints they ceased entirely their chanting, and they never failed to show every possible courtesy." *La Vie de Margaret Bourgeois*, Montreal edition, 1818, p. 74.

was July before Champlain started for the Georgian Bay with his Huron allies on his mission of war, in company with Father Le Caron on his mission of peace. After making two hundred leagues of travel by river and lake to the Georgian Bay, Champlain crossed the Ontario peninsula and Lake Ontario to aid the Indians in the attack already referred to on an Onondaga stockade. It signally failed. He and Father Le Caron spent the winter with the Hurons and left their village with the annual fleet of canoes on May 20th, bound for the marts on the St. Lawrence. On July 3d they reached Three Rivers and Champlain was received as one risen from the dead, for all hope of ever seeing him again had been abandoned when the previous autumn closed with rumours of disaster.

The short experience of a little more than a year's residence on the St. Lawrence by the monks had impressed them with the conviction that the savage must be civilised before he could be christianised, and that this could be effected only by intimate intercourse with civilised man; and that therefore immigration must be encouraged as a missionary measure. To persuade the French authorities to that effect, Father Jamay and Father Le Caron accompanied Champlain to France. But the combined influence and argument of the Governor and the priests failed to move either the company or the French government to send colonists to Quebec. France was ruled nominally by Louis XIII, but really by Marie de Medici and her favourites. The masterful cardinal, who was subsequently the head of the state and was to become France's greatest colonial minister, was only rising to power. The Lieutenant-Governor of New France, the Prince of Condé, had offended the Queen Regent and been imprisoned. The Huguenots were becoming restive and were on the point

of revolt. Champlain therefore says that, "The heart being diseased, the members could not enjoy good health." De Monts was a shareholder of the company and at this juncture, as once before, was willing to take a commercial risk. He laid a proposal before the company to send emigrants to Canada and to provide them with means of support and defence. Champlain says that "the memoranda were handed to Mons. de Merillac to be laid before the Council. But though the project was well conceived, it came to naught. It all went up in smoke, why and wherefore we never knew." A reason may have been the impracticability of an ignorant board in Europe managing the concerns of a company doing a strange trade in a strange and distant land. The company, however, maintained a suspended existence till 1620, when it was apparently reorganised by admitting, as managers, the members of the energetic Huguenot firm, the De Caens. There are no accounts of its mercantile operations. It probably never made gains and its losses must have been considerable, as it apparently had to contend against the inroads of poachers; to make concessions to dissatisfied merchants of Rochelle and other ports, and to suffer from divided councils at its own board. It lived out only six years of its eleven-year concession. And the concession of the De Caen Company, if it were a distinctly new organisation, would have been cut short by the creation of the company of the One Hundred Associates by Cardinal Richelieu in 1628, had the new company been permitted by the English freebooter, Kirke, to enter the domain of its operations.

Under the De Caen management the new company probably prospered, for the De Caens looked personally after their own interests, sailed their own ships, and sold their own merchandise. At one time negotiations

were opened looking to the transfer of the whole business of the de Caen company to the elder de Caen personally, on his guaranteeing to the other shareholders not less than thirty-six per cent on the company's capital of 60,000 livres.

Father Lalemant, the Jesuit, in a letter written to his brother after his arrival in Canada, in 1625, puts the annual shipment of beaver skins at from 15,000 to 20,000, and the price in France at one pistole (\$4) per skin. He admits that the outlay of the company was heavy. There were forty employees at Quebec and Tadousac. The crews of the two ships sailed by the company numbered 150 men, whose wages were from 100 livres (\$21) to 100 ecus (\$60) a year, board included. The contents and spirit of this first letter of the Jesuit contrast strikingly with the exclusively religious news vouchsafed by Father Sagard, the Recollet monk.

Some progress and some changes were made between the year 1616 and the Kirke conquest. A well-to-do apothecary, Sieur Hébert, immigrated with his family and became the first actual farmer of the Colony.¹ According to the Recollet Sagard, the company, or perhaps the local servants, looked with disfavour on him and his agricultural efforts. And, controlling, as the company, did the supplies, the company's clerk could make life intolerable for an unpopular customer. The friar, describing the hardships of the Hébert family, adds: "By such cruelties the poor are deprived of the fruit of their labour. Oh, God! how the big fish do devour the little fish!" Corporations were considered

¹ He had some experience of primitive colonisation—if he was the same person mentioned by Father Biard as one "of the five persons at Port Royal, to wit: the two Jesuits, their servant, the Apothecary Hébert and another."—P. Pierre Biard *Relation*, p. 217, Shea edition.

as greedy and soulless then as now! But of actual colonists, apart from the Hébert family and a few others, there were none, and the few were discontented.

In 1621 an indignation meeting was held in Quebec, and incidentally we learn from it of the existence of a certain civic organisation. On September 7th of that year Pontgravé sailed, and one of his passengers was Father George, who carried with him a bill of grievances from the Colony. The document is given in full by Sagard, who says: "The Sieur de Champlain and all the principal French inhabitants of Canada" (whence we may infer that there were at that period other foreigners in the Colony beside the unfortunate heretical Scotchman of whose death and translation by Satan's imps Father Sagard had told), "desirous of finding some relief from the confusion which distracted the Colony, had called a public meeting." The meeting adopted the following resolution: "Know All Men, that on the 18th of August in the Year of Grace 1621, in the Reign of, etc., etc., with the consent of the said Lieutenant, a general meeting of all the French inhabitants of New France was called for the purpose of devising some relief from the ruin and desolation which threatened this whole country, and for finding some means of preserving the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion in its purity, the authority of the King in its inviolability, etc.; it has therefore been Resolved, unanimously, to choose a representative from this meeting as a deputy from the whole company who will lay before the feet of his Majesty in all humility a statement of the condition of the country, and will describe the disorders which have distracted it, notably during this year of 1621. And that this deputy also visit his Lord the Viceroy in order to explain to him the state of disorder and solicit his support in their com-

plaint." The meeting "deputed the Reverend Father George to make to his Majesty their humble remonstrances, trusting to his well-known prudence to do in their behalf whatever he might consider to be most conducive to the welfare and advancement of the Colony." Father George was authorised to employ, if necessary, one or two advocates to plead the cause of the colonists before the Council and the courts, and take measures to secure the safety of their delegate while engaged in prosecuting his mission. The resolution, drawn up by the Sieur Baptiste Guers, is a masterpiece of legal verbiage, and concludes with the following: "Given at Quebec, la Nouvelle France, over the signature of the principal inhabitants, acting for the whole, who, for the purpose of further authentication, have prayed the Very Reverend Father in God Denis Jamay, Commissaire des Religieux in this land, to affix his ecclesiastical seal on the date and year hereinbefore named. Signed—Champlain; Frères, Denis Jamay, *Commissaire*; Joseph Le Caron; Hébert, *Procureur du Roi*; Gilbert Courseron, *Lieutenant du Prevost*; Boullè; Pierre Reye; Le Tardif; J. Le Groux; P. Desportes; Nicolas, *Greffier de la Jurisdiction de Quebec et Greffier de l'assemblée*; Guers, *Commissionné de Monseigneur le Viceroy*."

The calling of a town meeting and the titles affixed to the signatures express eloquently the effort Champlain had made to create, out of the scanty and incongruous elements with which he had to deal, an organised civic community. There must have been a court of justice of which Nicolas was clerk, Champlain himself probably being judge.

Nicolas was therefore by right, and probably by virtue of his education, selected as secretary of the meeting. The name which follows those of the Gover-

nor and the priests was that of Hébert, the first well-to-do immigrant, who had been now three years in the country, and whom Champlain had appointed Procureur du Roi (Crown Counsel). Then came that of Courseron, Lieutenant du Prevost—in ordinary parlance, the constable. Small as the population yet was, the machinery of civilisation had been introduced, and the people were being educated in its use.

It was a Recollet who carried the petition to the foot of the throne. After the advent of the Jesuits, four years later, till the time of Laval, we never read of churchmen taking the lead in popular movements, though the Jesuits used other methods to advance what they considered the popular well-being.

The friars had found that the Indian heart and conscience could be reached more directly through the stomach than through the brain. They were, however, almost as poor as the Indians, honestly living up to the vows of poverty as well as celibacy, and unable therefore to meet the heavy expense of sustaining the bodies, as well as feeding the souls, of their converts. Consequently they made a virtue of necessity and welcomed as coadjutors the wealthy and powerful Order of Jesus, in the persons of Fathers Lalemant and de Brébeuf and four other members of the society. The Jesuits, though pledged by the most solemn vows to individual poverty, could, as an order, hold real estate, and collect rents for the maintenance of their schools and colleges. They became by far the largest property holders in Canada and, by their liberality and public service, perhaps justified the favours which were showered upon them. They arrived in 1625 and in 1629 were banished by Kirke, but these first four years of ministration were merely an apprenticeship to their subsequent labour, which extended from 1632, when Canada was restored

to France, till Father Cazot died in Quebec in 1799, or for thirty-seven years after the Order was expelled from Louisiana. Though the British government after the Conquest did not expel the Jesuits, they were not allowed to recruit novices.

The Recollets were not readmitted to Canada till 1670, when they were recalled by the great intendant, or civil administrator, Talon, as a foil to the Jesuits. But their early services to the Colony must not be altogether obscured by the more conspicuous part played by the Jesuits. They not only led the way to the far distant Huron country and established a mission there, but taught the first lessons of Christianity to the Algonquins. That both these groups of savages, so different in temperament and habits, should have subsequently yielded so readily to the appeals of the Jesuits, may have been due in no small measure to the sweet, persuasive influence of these, their early teachers. Besides engaging in missionary work the Recollets performed the duty of secular clergy to the white community. Brother de Plessis was a man of engaging disposition and diplomatic ability. He was stationed at Three Rivers, where he is said to have opened the first school in Canada.

When the Indian plot to exterminate the whites, in the winter of 1617-18 was revealed, Brother de Plessis descended from Three Rivers to Quebec, where he and the other Recollets exerted their influence in allaying the alarm of the intended victims and in warding off punishment from the misguided savages. The conspiracy arose in part from the fear of reprisal by the whites for the killing of two Frenchmen.

The danger was greater than that which threatened the Plymouth Colony when Miles Standish, on suspicion

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merely of the hostility of Corbitant, attacked the Indians. But the treatment of this critical situation was widely different. When the plot was revealed by one of the chiefs, both white men and red men were short of provisions; but what the French had they shared with the savages, who had intended slaughtering them. Meanwhile the two Indians who had murdered the two Frenchmen on the Beauport beach surrendered voluntarily. As Champlain was in France it was decided to keep them prisoners till the Governor returned; but, as security for the good behaviour of the tribe, two little girls were demanded as hostages. On Champlain's arrival there was a formal pow-wow. He charged the Indians with bad faith; refused to go on the warpath with them, but promised, on condition of their good behaviour, to help them in the following year. Then seizing a sword, he flung it into the St. Lawrence, and, as the waters closed over it, assured them that so would all ill-will between them be obliterated. With this dramatic flourish he liberated the prisoners. The French colonists were never again threatened by a rising of their Indian allies. We could not conceive of Bradford or Winthrop striking a histrionic attitude and going through a similar allegorical performance. It may have been impressive, as executed by Champlain. It certainly would not have been, if repeated on Massachusetts Bay; nor would it there have expressed as sincere an emotion as Champlain felt. The French liked the Indians. The English did not. The priests regarded the medicine men as emissaries of the devil, but none of them would have called the whole Indian population the "spawn of Satan," as did a Puritan elder.

Once the masterful members of the Society of Jesus landed, they asserted themselves, and for a century

and a half they were the most powerful ecclesiastical organisation in New France, exhibiting, in Canada, most conspicuously, that combination of religious ardour and political astuteness which has been the source of their strength and of their weakness the world over. Their wealth and their political power made them unpopular; but their assistance, as diplomats, in negotiating with even the hostile Iroquois often made them useful aids to the government. Their invaluable services as educators, their great learning and social tact, their profound religious devotion, exhibited in the most arduous missionary labour, culminating in the martyrdom of five of the Order, made them the most influential group of men in the Colony. We may to-day, perhaps unreasonably, resent ecclesiastical interference in politics, but then it was regarded by both Catholics and Protestants as one of the most essential functions of the clergy. The Jesuits of Canada really participated in state affairs more prudently than did the Puritan ministers of New England.

But in 1620, before the advent of the Jesuits, Champlain had taken his young wife to Quebec, hoping that others of the women of France would follow. He had been absent from the Colony almost two years and he found, on landing with Madame Champlain, the *habitation* in a woefully ruinous state. The rain poured in through the roof; the wind whistled between cracks in the walls; the store-room was about to fall, and one of the wings had collapsed bodily. And yet this was to be the abode of the delicately nurtured woman whom he had brought to the seat of government. The excuse for the neglected condition of the place was that the few mechanics available had been withdrawn for the purpose of erecting the monastery which the Recollet Fathers were building on the banks of the St. Charles,

half a league away; and in putting up a house for Louis Hébert, the first acutal colonist.

However, though the roof of the château was leaky, he was the Lieutenant of the Viceroy of all New France and she the *châtelaine*; and therefore, on the day after his arrival, he caused his commission as Lieutenant of the new Viceroy to be publicly read by Guers, Greffier, to the accompaniment of cannon, after the Recollet Fathers had said mass in their little chapel. The whole population of fifty shouted "*Vive le roi!*" whereupon Champlain took possession of the *habitation* and the country in the name of the new Viceroy, the Duc de Montmorency.

The husband and wife remained together in Canada for four years, amid the wild surroundings of the post on the river bank, and of the fort on the cliff, which he had commenced to build.

The Colony, if it may be so called, in its domestic features was wholly unlike that of Virginia; and it was of a very different type to the struggling Colony of Plymouth, only four years old. In both these English settlements were homes all alive with women and children. At Quebec, on the contrary, Louis Hébert was the only colonist who had brought his family to Canada, and who was really attempting agriculture. A few—as Couillard, Martin, Pivert, Desportes, Duchesne—may have turned their hands in a desultory way to gardening, but the other notable inhabitants of the post, Marsolet, Brûlé, Hertel, Nicollé le Tardif, the three Godfreys, were engaged exclusively as the company's employees in the fur trade and in dealings with the Indians. The scanty population, including those in Quebec and in the woods, remained stationary. At most two acres had been cultivated near the fort. Champlain had made a laudable effort to induce the



Chateau as Destroyed by Fire in 1834.

From Hawkins's *Picture of Quebec*.

Indians to cultivate a farm on the Beaufort flats; but if he could not persuade his own countrymen to engage in a pursuit, to which they had been accustomed, there was little prospect of succeeding with the savages. The only fodder for the few cattle was wild hay. There was not a single horse on the St. Lawrence. Industrial pursuits seemed to have no attraction for the immigrants. A large proportion of the immigrants had drifted into the woods, where some of them, instead of being mere servants of the trading company, had become as arrant rovers as the Indians themselves. With surprising facility these Frenchmen lapsed into semi-savage hunters and illicit traders, finding trapping much more profitable than raising cabbages, and the free life of the wilderness more congenial than being watched by the company's clerks and the priests at Quebec. The French, moreover, have never exhibited antipathy to close marital relations with the squaws.

Champlain remained two years in France before returning to Canada. When he left the post again it was as a prisoner. The Colony on the St. Lawrence was sadly neglected—deprived of both men and arms. In 1621 Champlain was driven almost to the point of resigning his thankless office, on account of the cancellation of his company's concession, and the transfer, without notice, of all its privileges to the brothers de Caen. But he was consoled by the King's promise to send on his supplanter's ship an armament fit to equip his new fort. An inventory made by Champlain of the arms and ammunition actually shipped, is interesting as illustrating the measure of royal liberality, and as being the first bill of war supplies furnished to a fortress, destined to become famous in the world's history. It enumerates twelve halberds with handles of whitewood painted black; two arquebuses of the same length to be

fired with matches; fifty-two pounds of good matches; one hundred and eighty-seven pounds of worthless matches; fifty common picks; two petards of cast iron, weighing forty-four pounds each; one butterfly tent; two helmets and one axe; sixty-four sets of pikemen's weapons, without armlets; two barrels of musket balls, weighing 439 pounds. In addition there were handed over to Champlain by Isaac Halard, the company's clerk, two barrels of gunpowder for cannon, and six barrels of musket balls, weighing 2479 pounds. Muskets had been introduced into France about 1575, but there were none in the consignment, and what powder there was was coarse grained for cannon—none for firearms.

As complications and misgovernment increased in France, interest diminished in the little group of Frenchmen isolated on the St. Lawrence; and when Richelieu did take cognisance of the prospective colony, instead of sending it relief in its dire distress, he wasted time in organising a new company. The delay was fatal, for in the interval war broke out between France and England, excited by the assistance extended by England to the revolting Huguenots; and Charles I granted to a company of London adventurers a patent, authorising them to found a plantation on the St. Lawrence and seize French and Spanish ships and goods. Of the expedition thus authorised, one of the largest shareholders was Gervan Kirke, probably Gervain Querque of Huguenot descent, whose son took charge of the ships and acquitted himself right manfully. He ascended the river in 1628; learned that the occupants of trading posts were in a hopeless condition; destroyed their farm buildings and killed their livestock at Cap Tourmente; left them to starve for another winter, while he sailed back to England. In the Gulf he met and scuttled the



**Medal Struck in Commemoration of
Admiral Phips's Defeat in 1692.**



fleet of the One Hundred Associates under Admiral Roquemont. The following year he took command of another expedition fitted out by Sir William Alexander, who had a commission under the broad seal of England to utterly expel the French from Canada. This his lieutenant did with remarkable thoroughness; but when the capture was made Kirke knew not that the treaty of Suze had been signed, under one of the provisions of which Quebec was subsequently restored in 1632.

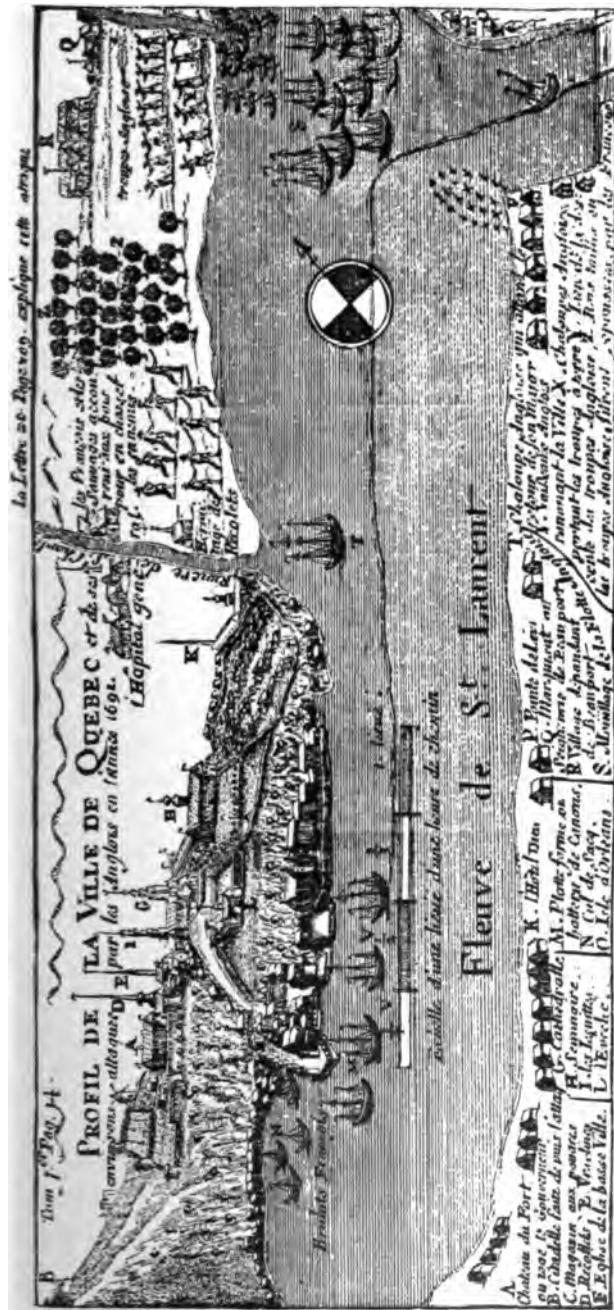
Quebec was the key to Canada, and twice again it was besieged before it fell to General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders in 1759. These two attempts to capture the fortress were made at the instigation and with the active assistance of the New England Colonies. From the first, Puritan New England looked with aversion on the French neighbours, and the aversion grew in bitterness as fresh injuries and iniquities were committed on both sides.

The first of the two failures was made by Sir William Phipps, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, who having taken Port Royal in May, 1690, appeared before Quebec on October 16th, with thirty-two ships and over two thousand men. The news of his approach reached Frontenac in Montreal, where he was holding a pow-wow and giving a feast to his western Indian allies. He was winning their hearts by dancing their dances and sharing their unpalatable cookery; but he hurried back to Quebec, and de Callières, in command at Montreal, followed so expeditiously with eight thousand regular and irregular troops that he arrived only two days after his commander, his men marching down the Grande Allée in such high spirits that their shouts could be heard on the hostile ships. That same day Phipps sent a peremptory summons to Frontenac to surrender. He had imitated, when

framing it, a similar document sent by Kirke to Champlain; but conditions as well as men had changed. Phipps's challenge reads like burlesque in the light of the ignominious failure of his expedition. Nevertheless, in defending the town in its hour of danger, Frontenac displayed not only military skill, but great fertility of resource. We read that when Sir William Phipps's messenger was led blindfolded up the steep road from the landing into the tumble-down château, the few inhabitants of the town jostled the poor fellow as though they had been a multitude, which the narrow road could not contain.

A handful of soldiers, meanwhile, with their drummer and trumpeter, passed and repassed before and behind the blind, bewildered herald, like the army in a play where men march and countermarch through the wings of a stage. When the envoy was unbandaged and allowed to read his message, mercifully offering advantageous terms of surrender, he found himself in a room of the old château which showed no signs of being a tottering building, surrounded by a crowd of officers in their best uniforms, who confirmed the gallant Marquis's haughty reply by their well-acted, contemptuous gestures. Frontenac answered that he did not need the hour for deliberation offered by the admiral of the rebel King William; and he indignantly refused to send any other reply to the summons to surrender than shot from the mouths of his cannon.

The defences of Quebec in men and guns were vastly greater than when Kirke summoned the helpless Champlain to surrender; for, though still indifferently protected landwards, the town was impregnable from the river, and it was on that side that the only vigorous attack was made. Phipps made a fruitless attempt, as Wolfe subsequently did, to advance on the town from



Plan of Attack on Quebec, 1690.
A facsimile of an engraved plan in La Hontan's *Nouvel Voyage*, London, 1703, vol. i., p. 160. It was re-engraved for the French edition of 1705.

the Beaufort flats. Failing, he used his broadsides; but the bombardment of the town from the fleet was answered by a better directed fire from the city batteries. With some ships disabled, Phipps gave up the attempt, and returned, to suffer more from the elements in the Gulf than from the fire of the grand battery.

His tardiness in reaching the field of operation, combined with the incongruous elements of his naval and land forces, made failure almost a foregone conclusion; nevertheless, so short was the garrison of provisions that the addition of de Callières's forces to the poverty-stricken and hungry town would have made surrender inevitable, had Phipps known the true state of Frontenac's commissariat and been bold, or rather rash enough to run the risk of November storms in the Gulf.

Bishop Saint Vallier was building at the time a little church in the Lower Town, near the site of the old company's store, and this he dedicated to Notre Dame de la Victoire. The first Sunday after the 22d of October of each year is still observed as a feast day in commemoration of the victory. The same unpretentious little chapel was rededicated to the Virgin twenty-two years afterwards, as Notre Dame des Victoires, in recognition of her intervention in wrecking Admiral Hovenden Walker's fleet in the Gulf and relieving the pious town, which had always been devoted to the worship of the Holy Family.

In the two preceding attempts to capture Quebec the New England colonists had not only instigated the campaigns but furnished, in great measure, the men and means.

Had, therefore, either Phipps's attack in 1690 succeeded, or Admiral Walker's fleet not been wrecked in the Gulf in 1712, the conquered territory would have probably been converted into a separate Colony "with

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all the privileges of his Majesty's other colonies or governments in America," as was decreed in 1748 from Whitehall with regard to the recent acquisition of Nova Scotia. What effect a New England constitution would have had upon Canada might have depended upon the number of New Englanders who would have emigrated to the St. Lawrence in order to teach the Canadians how to use it. Although Puritanism had undergone notable modifications in practice between 1628 and 1690, it would have been no more acceptable to the Church of Rome in its later than in its earlier phases. And the social and business habits of the enterprising Bostonians would have jarred on the courteous, easy-going merchants of Quebec and Montreal. Nevertheless, had New England conquered the territory by force of arms it would have conquered the people by force of character; and therefore fourteen instead of thirteen colonies would have revolted in 1776.



Notre Dame des Victoires, from Richard Short's Drawings, 1759.



CHAPTER VI

CANADA UNDER THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL MISRULE OF FRANCE, TO THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY

DURING the three years from 1629–1632, after the capture of Quebec by Kirke, the trade of the St. Lawrence was under the control of the Anglo-Scottish Company which had captured Port Royal and Quebec. The company acted languidly because uncertain of the tenure of its holding. Negotiations for the return of Quebec were commenced immediately after the surrender. France's claim was based on substantial grounds, and the necessities of Charles's finances, as well as his personal sympathies, predisposed him to accede to France's demand. Suits for damages against the Kirkes were instituted, and for these as well as for other reasons it would have been imprudent to embark capital in such a venture as the fur trade.

But when Canada was restored, the company of the One Hundred Associates, which then commenced its active career, was so helpless and ignorant that it was Emery de Caen, the Huguenot, who on July 5, 1632, re-entered on possession of the ashes of the *habitation*. On the same date Fathers Le Jeune and de Nouē and Brother Gilbert resumed the interrupted labours of the Order of Jesus.

Champlain returned as Governor in May of the

following year. During the two final years of his life he did nothing notable, but he set an example of ardent piety and conducted his household on the model of a monastery. In fact the little community seems to have yielded to a religious revival so warm that Father Le Jeune wrote to his Superior: "The winter, cold as it is in New France, was never so severe as to blight the blossoms of Paradise, which there bloom the year round." So many other Jesuits came to recruit the first contingent that in 1634 there were eight priests and two brothers on the St. Lawrence eager for work. They soon began to scatter; Fathers Brébeuf and Daniel ascended to Three Rivers to await there the arrival of the Indians, and to found a house on the property, which the company had ceded to them, at the mouth of the St. Maurice River. The Hurons came down, but only in small bands. War had broken out with the Iroquois, and the Hurons had met with serious reverses, losing two hundred dead and one hundred prisoners, according to their reckoning, numbers which may safely be divided by ten. Not even the strong motives of trade could induce them to approach the country of their terrible enemies while the war lasted. When they did venture to descend the Ottawa, it was proposed that they should carry back two priests and some French laymen. They hesitated long, wavering between their desire to propitiate the French and their fear of offending their Algonquin allies, whose country they must traverse, and who were bitterly opposed to the passage of the white men. At length they consented to take two ecclesiastics and one French layman, on condition that they do their full share of paddling. Fathers Brébeuf and Daniel were the missionaries chosen. Subsequently Father Davost and five more laymen were given passage by other bands of

Hurons. Thus began that memorable mission of the Jesuits to the Hurons, which won for five of its members —Jogues, Daniel, Lalemant, Garnier, and Brébeuf— crowns of martyrdom, and which exhibited in heroic action these disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The close alliance thus established with the French, not being backed by adequate French protection, proved the ruin of the Hurons and the forerunner of numberless ills to the unfortunate French colony. Little could the Huron hunters, when they wavered between the entreaties of the French on the one hand and the warnings of their Indian allies on the other, have foreseen through the long vista of anxious years the disasters to their tribe which followed in rapid succession their self-sacrificing act.

In 1648 the Iroquois attacked the Huron mission of St. Joseph on the Georgian Bay, and in 1649 that of St. Ignace. With their converts three Jesuits heroically met death. The nation was almost exterminated. After that catastrophe the scattered remnant of this once powerful section of the Iroquois family knew no repose. Small bands fled to their allies in the West and were absorbed; others fled from refuge to refuge, and of these some three hundred are now at peace, as Wyandots, in Oklahoma. A small number are supporting themselves on the Anderdon reservation and the largest body are living as prosperous farmers on the Grand River in Ontario. But the best-known group is composed of the descendants of those who followed their ecclesiastical shepherds to Canada. They were assigned land on the Island of Orleans below Quebec, where, however, they were exposed to attack from the canoes of their implacable foes. Some capitulated and joined the Five Nations. Those who remained true to their new faith were removed to a camp near the fort at

Quebec, and ultimately occupied the picturesque village of Lorette on the River St. Charles near Quebec, where to-day their children, though they cultivate the soil, exhibit by their preference for the chase the strength of their racial instincts.

Father Le Jeune, as in duty bound, devotes the long memoirs of 1634 to the doings of himself and his Order in their rôle as Indian missionaries. The one paragraph which he does devote to mundane matters imparts a piece of news of prime importance. It tells us of the arrival of Mons. Giffard, who was to be the first land-owner to do homage as a *seigneur* in New France.

The priests and *seigneurs* were henceforth to be the two dominant forces of the Colony, which means that the people were to be discouraged from thinking for themselves, or from taking that interest in public affairs which individual ownership of land engenders. The feudal system expressed by the aphorism, "*Nulle terre sans Seigneur*," was to be transplanted to Canada. In the old land, absolute monarchy in its struggle with the great feudal lords came off conqueror and the land tenure remained feudal in France up to the time of the Revolution. Still to Cardinal Richelieu, as to the French people at large, feudalism was more congenial than democracy; and its appearance in a modified form in New France cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise. As a system it asserted the right of the King to the fealty of his subjects, and his control over the land was thereby explicitly recognised. By its adoption class distinctions and a modest semblance of aristocracy were preserved and the impress of antiquity was stamped on New France. Quebec, as the seat of government, became a relic of the Middle Ages, where the Governor, as representative of the King, the *Seigneur Dominant*, held his court and received the

homage of his *seigneurs* in person or by deputy; where a peasant class tilled the soil and did military service as *censitaires*; and where the priests ruled over the conduct and consciences of men as arbitrarily as though Luther and Calvin had never resisted the authority of the Church in Europe. For more than another century the government of Canada remained an anomaly on the American continent, and Quebec an anachronism—as picturesque in its religious, social, and official life as in its natural situation. Even now so tenaciously and tenderly does Quebec cling to its associations with the past that its civil law is founded on the *Coutume de Paris*, and the priests collect their tithes by process of law. Under such conditions the Sieur Giffard became the first *seigneur* in Canada, having acquired the land now within the parish of Beauport on the north shore below Quebec.

To Champlain, as the King's representative, it would have seemed the fulfilment of all his hopes, to have received the homage of this feudal lord; but on December 24, 1635, he died, stricken of apoplexy, the week before Giffard went through the feudal ceremony of doing homage before Marc de Bras de Fer, Lieutenant-Governor.

This system of land tenure endured with little change throughout the French régime, and being recognised by the civil code, was perpetuated under English rule till 1854.

As Governor, Champlain was followed by a Knight of Malta, Charles Huault de Montmagny. He was at once involved in ignominious warfare against the Iroquois, or in diplomatic conferences with those wily savages. During his governorship Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve, from the first, as a semi-religious and almost independent colony. It had to bear the brunt of the Iroquois onslaught, and stood it

bravely. It became, as a consequence, the refuge of the hunted friendly Indians, and the centre of the missionary efforts of the Sulpicians, who were as earnest priests as the Jesuits themselves, and like the Jesuits became landholders, and even *seigneurs* of the island of Montreal. As intruders on their domain the Sulpicians were not beloved by their rivals at the seat of government, nor by the first Canadian Bishop, Monseigneur Laval, who found the Jesuits to be his most useful ally in fighting the battle of the Church against the State. Montreal, however, being the nearest mart of the fur trade of the Ottawa and the Great Lakes, at length lost its primitive purity under the blighting influence of trade.

During Montmagny's term, however, came two groups of nuns to Quebec, members of the teaching sisters of St. Ursula, and the nursing sisters of a sub-order of Augustine nuns, the Grey nuns. The latter established the hospital of the Hôtel Dieu, where they still minister to the sick and suffering. And the Ursulines, to the present day, maintain a convent on the same site as that on which their patroness, Madame de la Peltrie, assisted them to build.

Montmagny, harassed by the Iroquois, and recognising that the danger of its actual destruction at their hands brooded over the Colony, looked to New England for help; but formal negotiations were not entered on till Father Druilletes was sent by his successor, Governor d'Ailleboust, to tempt the New England confederation, by an offer of a commerical treaty, to ally itself with the French against the Iroquois. The negotiations came to naught, but the Journal kept by the Jesuit of the two journeys to what he called a Republic, which it was in fact if not in name, has survived. He tells of his visits to Eliot; of his cordial



The First Ursuline Convent, Burnt in 1650.

Madame de la Peltrie's house is in the foreground.

From an old painting in the Ursuline Convent.

Reproduced from *Glimpses of a Monastery*.

treatment by Deputy-Governor Dudley, by Governor Bradford—and even by the bigoted Endicott—and gives a less gloomy impression of the habits of the Puritan settlement and a more attractive picture of the courtesy and liberality of the elders than we are apt to draw from their accounts of themselves.

It was during Montmagny's term of office that the company of the One Hundred Associates transferred some of their trading privileges, and with them their onerous obligatory conditions, to the company of the *habitants*. This concession was more apparent than real. At the same time a feeble agitation was started in favour of a measure of self-government. The inhabitants of Quebec sent M. de Chastelets and M. d'Ailleboust, who had come out as a partner of Maisonneuve in the Montreal enterprise, to plead their cause in France. In the spring of 1647 M. d'Ailleboust returned with his commission as Governor, and in his pocket a constitution.

D'Ailleboust was a religious, honest, and unresourceful man, but he was followed, after four years of service, by the only Governor who, in that century, was tainted by a trace of nepotism—perhaps because the only Governor who was accompanied by his sons. M. de Lauzon had been Intendant of the company in France, and might have been assumed to be admirably fitted, by knowledge of the company's affairs, to manage them with vigour and intelligence in Canada. But while his energies should have been devoted to strengthening the Colony to resist and if possible crush the Iroquois, his whole soul seems to have been set on marrying his sons to well-dowered girls; creating offices with high-sounding titles for them; and securing large tracts of land for himself and his family. After three years in office, which sufficed to render him unpopular

and his feeble policy of dealing with the Iroquois odious, he shifted the cares of state to his son's shoulders and ran away. This son subsequently became a priest, in which capacity he was more successful than he had been as a statesman or administrator.

It had become evident to the home government that neither piety nor experience were the necessary qualifications for a governor of a colony beset by such active and resourceful enemies as the Iroquois. They therefore sent over as de Lauzon's successors two soldiers of some eminence. The first was the Vicomte d'Argenson, who came out in 1658. If he had been obliged to fight foes with carnal weapons only, he might have succeeded: but in the following year there came out a warrior of a different type, in Bishop Laval. He was an ecclesiastic of the extreme ultramontane school, and descendant of the famous fighting stock of the Montmorencies. Almost immediately after his landing, hostilities commenced between the civil and ecclesiastical branches of the government. During the latter period of d'Argenson's administration, and during the whole of that of his successor, the Baron d'Avaugour, the unseemly feud between the Governor and the Bishop distracted the public attention from healthy avocations and weakened the public respect for law, thus retarding the growth of the Colony as acutely as the Iroquois raids.

Nor was there harmony within the Church itself. In 1657 four priests came out from St. Sulpice to found a seminary in Montreal. One of these, the Abbé Queylus, was invested with the title and power of Vicar-General by the Archbishop of Rouen, who claimed episcopal jurisdiction over Canada. The Jesuits of Quebec submitted, but preferring a resident Bishop, used their influence in favour of Laval, who was con-



Portrait Supposed to be of M. Louis d'Aillebout.

By the kind permission of Mr. Norman Neilson.



secrated in 1658. He came out as the Vicar-Apostolic in 1659, with ample episcopal authority, and immediately sent the Abbé Queylus back to France.

D'Avaugour, the second military governor, may have been a brave man, but he was certainly not a wise one if we may judge from his official reports, of which the following is a sample:

"Monseigneur—My first despatch described the length and breadth of the great river St. Lawrence: My second was upon the necessity of fortifying the city of Quebec: In the third I presented the unwisdom of ceding the Colony of Plaisance in Newfoundland and Gaspé; and now, monsieur, I venture to propose to you a project for the conquest of the two towns inhabited by the English and Dutch, thus making the King master of the continent and its people. These people, who are all heretics of the reformed religion, so-called, live under a kind of liberty, and have Governors over them only at intervals. They are very rich, through being engaged in fishing and trafficking with the Indians.

"If His Majesty would only capture these towns, he would be ruler of the finest portions of America, for the winters are not as cold as in Canada. Only four large war vessels, with 4000 men, are required. My hope is that His Majesty will put me in command. If he does, I will reduce the towns of Boston and Manhattan between the months of May and July, and return by Albany, leaving garrisons in all the towns to hold the people in subjection."

This bold project, to conquer with 4000 men the 40,000 imagined, some years before, by Druillettes, to be the fighting population of New England, not to mention the Dutch of the Hudson,¹ was signed on Septem-

¹ The New England fighting population should be divided, the force to conquer them multiplied in each case by four.

ber 2, 1663, just a fortnight before—as the result of his misunderstanding with the Bishop—the Governor was replaced by de Mezy.

In 1662 the Bishop went to France to protest against the interference of the obnoxious Governor, and to secure his recall. He succeeded, and brought out with him a Governor of his own choosing, and in his pocket a new constitution. But the new Governor, M. de Mezy, who had been a fellow inmate with the Bishop in the Bernière Hermitage at Caen, proved more refractory than even his predecessors, and so thwarted the Bishop that he fulminated against him a sentence of excommunication.¹

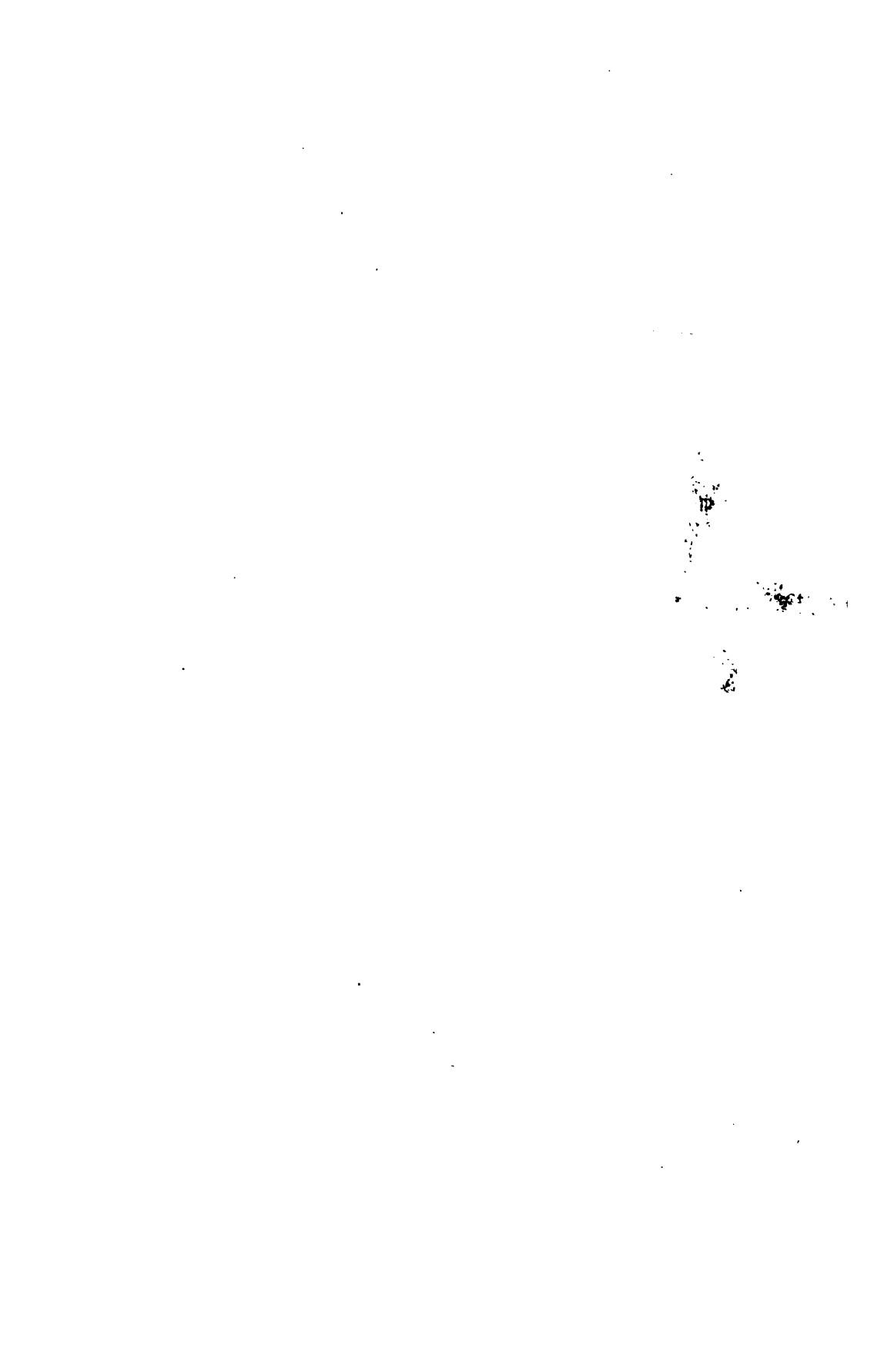
De Mezy was an impulsive, enthusiastic man, ill-balanced in both judgment and temper. The Bishop was no less obstinate than the Governor, but he had been educated in a Jesuit college. He had learned the first lessons of the astute code of the Society of Jesus—absolute obedience to his spiritual superior, and control over himself. In Canada he recognised no superior. The thought of his high and sacred office completely dominated his mind, and with calm, unflinching determination he carried out his duty, as he understood it. He was obeying the dictate of heaven, as formulated by the Pontiff. That he was doing irreparable injury to the Colony by weakening regard for law and order in the person of its chief representatives would not have arrested him in his course, even could he have appreciated the fact.

The failure of the company of the One Hundred Associates to succeed commercially in fostering colonisation and maintaining peace on the St. Lawrence induced Louis XIV to undertake the government himself. The

¹ The Hermitage was a retreat of a semi-monastic character for laity and clergy.



Talon.



system of conducting commerce through monopolistic associations was then firmly established in the public and the official mind as the only method of promoting foreign trade. Therefore Colbert at once transferred the trading privileges of the old company to the company of the West Indies. This company required only nine years to involve itself in a debt of 3,523,000 francs.

Before the West India Company went into bankruptcy, the King, who had assumed the government of the Colony, determined to make effective provisions for its administration and protection. To conquer the Iroquois, he sent out troops under the command of Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, who was to remain in the Colony only till peace and quiet were restored.

M. de Courcelle was appointed Governor and M. Talon Intendant. Talon had won experience and distinction as Intendant of Hainaut, and proved to be one of the best administrators ever sent to Canada. The Marquis de Tracy had left France in the autumn of 1664, with four companies of the Carignan-Salières regiment; but as his instructions required him to take over Cayenne from the Dutch, he visited the West Indies before proceeding to Canada, where he landed on June 30, 1665. The four companies of his troops, and other soldiers to the total number of 1200, landed during the course of the summer, officered by men who have attached their names to Canadian geography, such as MM. de Salière, de Repentigny, de Sorel, and de Berthier. One of the first official acts of the Lieutenant-General was to have the edict establishing the West India Company registered by the Sovereign Council, thus inaugurating the new company. The Governor and Intendant arrived at the seat of their government on the 12th of September of the same year.

With the arrival in Quebec of high officials representing the august majesty of Louis XIV and faintly reflecting the glories of his court, accompanied by a garrison of from 1000 to 1200 men of the great monarchy's army, including four companies of one of the most distinguished of his regiments, which had fought and conquered all over Europe, from Italy to the Netherlands, and from the Atlantic to the Adriatic; with the creation of the Sovereign Council, modelled after the King's Council of State, but exercising in addition the functions of the Parliament of Paris; with the prospect in the near future of the erection of the Apostolic Vicariate into the Bishopric of Quebec, and the organisation of a cathedral chapter; and with the recent addition of a theological seminary to the large college already possessed by the Jesuits, Quebec had sprung from the rank of a village into the dignity and dimensions of a town.

Nevertheless, despite all these special advantages, it did not prosper commercially or grow in population. Talon gives the population of Canada in 1666 as 3418, distributed as follows:

Quebec.....	678
Beaupré.....	555
Beauport.....	172
Island of Orleans.....	471
St. Jean François, St. Michel.....	156
Sillery.....	217
Notre Dame des Anges and St. Charles.	118
Côte Luzon.....	6
Montreal.....	584
Three Rivers.....	461
<hr/>	
Total.....	3418

In the following year he gives the population of all New France as 4312, of whom 1566 were capable of bearing arms, 88 were young men of marriageable age, and 55 were unmarried girls over fourteen years of age. There were 11,174 acres of land under cultivation, and 2136 horned cattle. Horses were still rare. It was not Talon's fault that so little progress was made. He believed in the possibilities of the country, and pleaded for colonists and for funds. But Colbert's reply was not encouraging. The King, he said, refused to depopulate France in order to people Canada. In truth, if one fourth of the men he sacrificed, first and last, to his insatiate ambition in war could have been induced to emigrate, they would have settled the Iroquois question and other still larger problems.

Instead of colonists, officials and priests were sent out. So attenuated was the population that the very first decree of the King, as colonial ruler, was to cancel the title to all uncultivated lands. It was a wise measure in itself, framed in the endeavour to concentrate the population and thus render it easier for them to defend themselves against the Iroquois. The plan, however, was impracticable, and, though the order to enforce it was repeated, it seems not to have been carried out, even tentatively.

Of the triumvirate that came out in 1663, Talon, the Intendant, was the only man who left his mark permanently on the Colony, by encouraging the people to develop the resources of the Colony instead of depending exclusively on imports for support. De Courcelle was replaced as Governor by Frontenac in 1672, before Talon's intendance expired. Under Frontenac the war between State and Church almost of necessity recommenced, Laval of course commanding the ecclesiastical forces. Frontenac was really, though not offi-

cially, aided by Talon, who to counteract the influence of the Jesuits, of Laval and his secular clergy, reintroduced the Recollets. Two men of such energy, obstinacy, and intellectual vigour as Laval and Frontenac, with diametrically opposite principles of action, and regarding almost every question that arose from different points of view, could not be expected to sit amicably at the same council chamber and share helpfully the responsibility of government. The disorganisation and discord consequent on their quarrels was so detrimental to the public service and so demoralising to public opinion, that Frontenac was recalled, and Bishop Laval, being old, was provided with a Suffragan-Bishop, Saint Vallier.

Frontenac's successors, La Barre and Denonville, through incompetency in war and through breach of faith with their Indian enemies, brought the Colony so near to the brink of ruin that Frontenac was sent back in 1689. He was hailed by the people on landing as their saviour. He fulfilled his mission, not only by successfully fighting the Iroquois, but by repelling Sir William Phipps, the Governor of Massachusetts, as already told. He died in Quebec in 1698, and with his second administration there closed the history of New France in the seventeenth century, for by that time the political, ecclesiastical, and social character of the Colony had assumed a distinctly stable shape. Unfortunately, by that time also the animosity between the two groups of colonists who occupied the new continent had become acute.

Thus the seventeenth century closed and the eighteenth century opened under lowering clouds: the two Christian nations occupying the St. Lawrence Valley and the North Atlantic coast grappling at each other's throats—not even fighting in the open, but resorting



François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency.



to the treacherous, barbaric methods of their savage allies; New France hastening to its downfall through misgovernment and official incompetence and corruption, New England drifting from its moorings towards revolution and Republicanism, by reason of mistakes made by the parent state, and through irresistible though unrecognised internal influences.

CHAPTER VII

A SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

THE last half century of French domination on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes presents two very different aspects of the colonial life of New France. Administrative degeneration at headquarters was coupled with such wonderful activity by the people in exploring the recesses of the continent that they extended the claims of France to territory from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific.

Frontenac's successor, Louis Hector de Callières, was an old Canadian, who before emigrating had been a captain in the regiment of Navarre and shortly after coming to Canada had been appointed Governor of Montreal. It was while in that position that he had helped to save Quebec from Sir William Phipps by hastening to Frontenac's assistance with a detachment of troops. As Governor he showed both vigour and statesmanship. He secured a cessation of hostilities among the Indian tribes and, after the peace of Ryswick, with the concurrence of Governor Bellamont, he checked them in their favourite pastime, that of border massacre. He used the Jesuits as political agents to win wavering Iroquois over to the French side, and virtually protected his country against any future attacks from those of the Iroquois who remained true to the British alliance. He died in office, and his remains,

which were laid in the Church of the Recollets, now rest in the Basilica of Quebec.

His successor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, left in some respects a less enviable record. He also was a soldier, who came to Canada in 1687 to command a detachment of the troops of the marine. He also helped to defeat Phipps, and on de Callières's appointment as Governor General followed him as Governor of Montreal. For the part he took in bringing about the treaty with the Indians he received the fief of Vaudreuil, which remains in the possession of his family. He had therefore the advantage of colonial experience when he took the reins of office. But his popularity with the Indians and his thorough acquaintance with their habits of thought and action created such intimate sympathy with them that it blinded him to the consequence of using them as a weapon in his war with the English colonies, which, however, he used less recklessly than his successor.

Frontenac had set the bad example of employing the Indians to sack defenceless settlements. Such comparatively safe warfare was agreeable to his Indian allies and he considered that its success would weaken the attachment of the Iroquois to the English, by demonstrating their helplessness when thus attacked. But Vaudreuil's long administration was responsible for almost uninterrupted border raids which embittered more and more the relations between the neighbouring colonies. It was a policy fraught with danger, more especially when the disparity in strength between the two groups of hostile colonists was taken into account. Still, it was a policy which a soldier, who was threatened by an enemy of overwhelmingly greater strength and resources, may be forgiven for adopting.

Unfortunately, the eighteenth century opened dis-

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mally with the breaking out of the war of the Spanish succession which afforded an excuse, if any were needed, for even greater activity in the raiding expeditions, which the missionary efforts of the French unintentionally encouraged. The Jesuit had won over many of the Senecas and a few from other Iroquois nations to the Church and to French allegiance and had settled them in a colony at Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence. To retain their fidelity, congenial work must be given them. Moreover, no method of warfare was as cheap as turning loose those savages, with their Abenaki and Micmac allies, on defenceless settlers along the New England border. The raiding parties were generally accompanied by Frenchmen. The provocation had been great, for though the Iroquois had not been commanded by Englishmen in their descents upon the St. Lawrence, the Five Nations had been allies of the English, and 1500 Iroquois warriors had been enlisted in the land force which should have co-operated with Phipps before Quebec. For sixty years these marauders had held in terror the French settlements; had destroyed the Huron Nation; had interfered with the fur trade north of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and had invaded the country of the Illinois and other friendly tribes to the south and north of the Lakes. Every onslaught of these savages, even if not instigated by the English, resulted in their favour. But whatever the justification, the reprisals made by the French and their Indian allies upon the border villages of New England, from Maine to Connecticut, intensified the hatred of the English Puritans against the French Papists, and led the *Bostonnais* to adopt as a duty what was undoubtedly to their interest,—the destruction of the French colonies of Acadia and Canada. To accomplish this end Boston was ceaselessly active. From that

restless hive Sir William Phipps attacked Acadia as a preliminary move towards his disastrous attempt on Quebec in 1690. In Boston, Colonel Church organised the raid in 1704, with aid of native allies, against Castin's Fort and Grand Pré, in executing which Church really tried to restrain the savagery of the Indians. Hilton attacked the Kennebec mission in the following year. In 1707 March's disorderly attack was made on Port Royal, and two years later Vetch and Nicholson's ill-conceived invasion of Canada by colonists and Indians, by way of Lake Champlain, came to naught. In 1710 Port Royal was captured for the third and last time, and never restored to France. This accomplished, another attack on Quebec was planned, the honour of taking which was to be shared by English and colonial troops and sailors. But Sir Hovenden Walker's fleet was so disabled by storms in the Gulf that he never sighted the fortress. This serious reverse quelled for a time the ardour of conquest, but deepened on both sides the spirit of bitterness, which continued to find vent in murderous raids, chiefly on the Kennebec and in New Hampshire. It would be degrading the word to call these man-hunting expeditions warfare. Pepperell's siege and reduction of Louisbourg in 1745, effected by colonial troops alone, was the one glorious act of war in this long series of barbarous atrocities. The horrors of Wells, Deerfield, and Haverhill were thus revenged, not by the New Testament precept of turning the cheek to the smiter, but on true Old Testament Puritan principles. The animosity created by these barbarities survived and acutely shaped the course of future events. They added a tincture of bitterness to the war which ended in the surrender of Canada to Britain in 1760, and reacted on the temper of the French Canadians till long after

the conquest. The American Revolution might have terminated differently had Old France retained as hostile a feeling towards the English colonists as did her former Canadian subjects. They manifested their resentment for past injuries by refusing to yield to the blandishments of the revolutionary leaders and by opposing Montgomery and Arnold when they invaded Canada in 1775-1776. The antipathy at least of the Church and the more influential inhabitants against the *Bostonnais* was stronger than their aversion to their English conquerors and rulers.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil ruled Canada from 1703 to 1725. Though not sagacious enough to foresee the fatal consequences of irritating his powerful neighbours, he nevertheless appreciated their inevitable territorial expansion, and to check their advances built Fort Niagara, re-established Fort Michilimackinac, and strengthened the fortifications of both Quebec and Montreal. One of his most important domestic measures was his redivision of the Colony into parishes—strung along both banks of the river, much as they exist to-day. He laid down life and the cares of office at eighty-four years of age, long after he had become unfit to perform his duties. He had married late in life a Mademoiselle de Joubert. She was not an otherwise woman, but so talented that she was chosen in 1708 as Under Governess of the Royal children, an honour which the ladies of the Ursuline of Quebec, where she was educated, not unreasonably claim to share with her. Her husband joined her in France in 1714, and they returned to Canada in 1716, where till her death she exercised no little influence over him and the government of the Colony. It is significant that when Louis XIV died in 1715 he was seventy-seven years of age, and his Governor of New France at that



Sir William Phips.

From an old engraving.

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date was seventy-four, and that these two old men were, as they approached dotage, hurrying New France to its fate.

During the governorship of de Callières and de Vaudreuil the Intendants were Bochart, François de Beauharnais, the Raudots, father and son, performing at the same time different functions of the same office, and Bégon.

Bégon had waited two years for a successor. The next appointee to the office, M. Chazel, was wrecked and lost with all on board the *Chameau*; the second selection, M. Dupuy, relieved him in 1726. He accompanied the new Governor, Charles de Beauharnais: but instead of co-operating to strengthen Canada against New England they expended their energies on personal feuds which culminated in an unseemly quarrel, over the mortal remains of old Bishop Saint Vallier. The Cathedral Chapter had decided to appoint M. Boullard, the Curé of Quebec, as Vicar-General. M. de Lotbinère, the Archdeacon, fearful that his claim to perform the funeral services would be disputed, made haste, before the remains were cold, to perform the last rites in the General Hospital, where the Bishop had died. M. Dupuy sided with the Archdeacon—the Governor with the Chapter. These unseemly quarrels, which revived the animosities between Church and State of Frontenac's administration, scandalised all pious citizens and encouraged the spirit of freedom, or of revolt, as some might consider it, which was beginning to replace the old temper of abject submission. The battle did not cease, even with the withdrawal of Dupuy, for his act in appointing in his place Père Dupuy was disallowed and M. d'Aigremont was nominated. He, dying almost immediately, was succeeded by M. Hocquart, the only Intendant worthy of com-

parison with Talon. Still the quarrel with the Church continued, but now Governor Beauharnais combined with Intendant Hocquart in contesting with the coadjutor, Bishop Dosquet, the appointment of a successor to the General Hospital of Montreal. Thus officials quarrel over trifles when the state is tottering to its fall.

The fear of the English and the Iroquois was the incentive to the building of more forts and the taking of other precautionary measures. Nevertheless while French agents and French missionaries were busy placating the Indian tribes on the Lakes and those on the Mississippi from its headquarters to its mouth, bribes to informers and threats of severe punishment failed to check the growing trade between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, where English goods for exchange with the Indians were sold at half the price demanded for them on the St. Lawrence.

Under Hocquart further industrial progress was made. Shipbuilding so advanced that in 1733 ten small vessels were built in Quebec; in the same year the first road for wheeled vehicles was opened between Quebec and Montreal; and in 1737 the first furnace was lighted at the St. Maurice iron mines. Turpentine and tar, as well as lumber, were exported; but the most lucrative trade was in the dried root of the ginseng, a plant of the genus *Aralia* (*Panax*), a favourite remedy in China, which Père Lafitau discovered in Canada in 1720. It once rose in value to eighty francs a pound.

Hocquart took a great interest in education, and introduced the Christian Brothers as teachers of elementary schools. He deplored the preference of all classes of the colonists for amusement and for active over intellectual pursuits.

Still the Colony seemed under a blight. Its population in 1739 amounted to only 42,701, of whom 4603

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lived in Quebec and its *banlieue*, and 4210 in Montreal.

In 1744 the Governor was warned of what was impending when the twenty-five-year peace between England and France (which, however, had not been strictly observed in America) was broken by a declaration of war. Henceforth the whole energies of the Colony must be devoted to preparing for the inevitable, whatever that might be!

De Jonquière, Beauharnais's successor, began his career by a disaster off Sable Island to the fleet with which he was to recover Port Royal on his way to Quebec. He returned to France, leaving Beauharnais in office against his will. Jonquière's misfortune was compensated for by a brilliant night attack on an English detachment at Grand Pré by Canadians who had expected to co-operate with Jonquière and d'Anville. In such guerilla warfare, especially when conducted on snowshoes, the Canadians excelled.

De Jonquière was again put in command of a fleet, and he was ordered on his way to Canada to co-operate in the capture of the English colonies; but his fleet was sunk or scattered by Anson and Warren, and Jonquière was made prisoner. Thus assistance for Canada had been twice intercepted, and the Colony was thrown on its own scanty resources.

As the Marquis de Jonquière was a prisoner in England, the Comte de la Galissonnière was appointed Governor in his stead. He landed in Quebec in September, 1749. His administration of two years was distinguished not only by the abundance of advice he gave as to the policy which should be pursued by the mother country, but by the first attempt to define the boundary between New France and New England. The advice was as fruitless of practical results as his decision that the Alleghenies should separate the two colonies.

The terms of peace, which released de Jonquière, restored Louisbourg to France. As it had been reduced by the unaided efforts of New England, great was her indignation at its loss. Thus influences of many kinds were at work, fraught with momentous consequences.

De Jonquière's administration lasted till 1752. He was accused of nepotism and of using his position for personal gain. As the infamous Bigot had succeeded the illustrious Hocquart as Intendant in 1748, he was in office when de Jonquière followed de la Galissonière, and therefore the Governor should have been scrupulous to avoid every appearance of evil. His unpopularity is said to have hastened his death, which occurred in May, 1752, after he had, through ill health, resigned the active management of affairs into the hands of Charles Le Moine, Second Baron of Longueuil, who had been Governor of Montreal since 1749. De Longueuil acted as Governor-General till replaced by the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.

Duquesne's name suggests the most conspicuous service he performed—that not only of asserting the ownership of France to all the country west of the Alleghenies, but of supporting his pretensions by force of arms. The site of Fort Duquesne, which bore his name, at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where Pittsburg now stands, was well chosen, and it will always be memorable by the defeat of General Braddock and Colonel George Washington in their attempt to drive the French from this crucial position in 1755. But by this time Pierre François Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal had displaced Duquesne. Him the people hailed as their saviour, because he was the son of his father and a native of Canada, having been born at Quebec, November 22, 1698. He was the last

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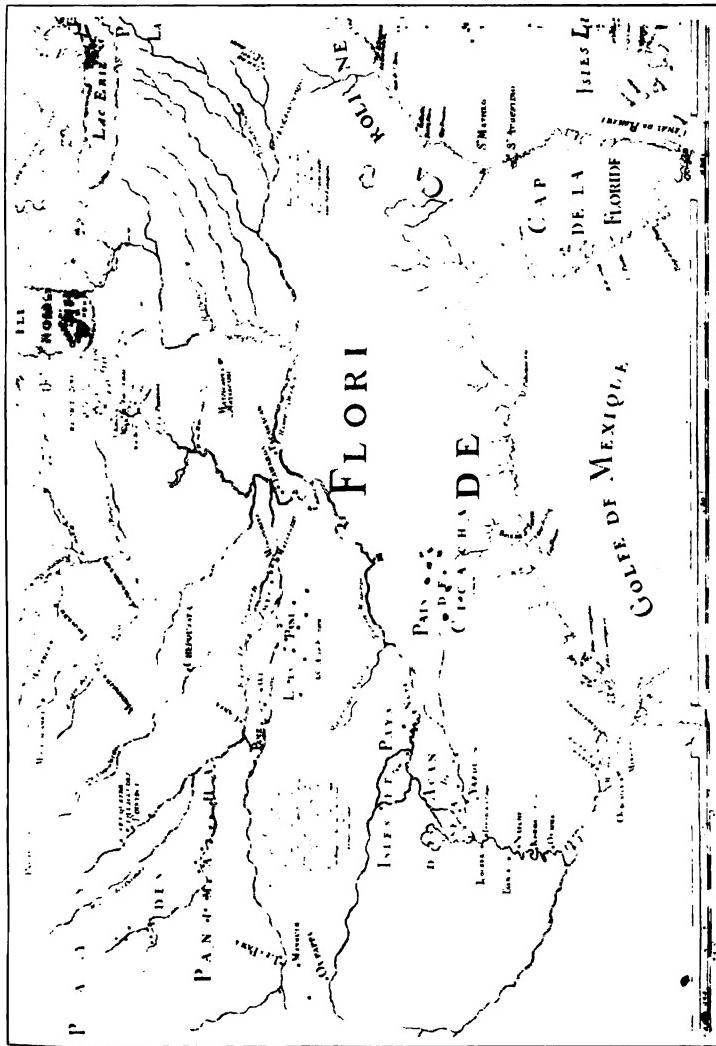
French Governor of Canada, and was doomed to see Quebec fall before the same enemy which had accepted its surrender from the first Governor. He was himself an honest and a brave man, yet was blind to the villainy of his civil colleagues and jealous of the genius of his military assistant, Montcalm. The reason that France lost Canada was that she did not appreciate the supreme importance of sea power. She had not learned from the destruction of Roquemont's fleet by Kirke, from many a sea fight in the interval, or from de Jonquière's defeat by Anson, that sea power is the only safeguard of a colonial empire. The risk from Canada's isolation could have been relieved only by a fleet; and half a century later it was Napoleon's impotence at sea which compelled him voluntarily to surrender or to sell Louisiana to the United States, lest it should fall a prey to England.

But while the neglect by the parent France of her offspring across the sea during this period led inevitably to the crisis of 1759, the colonists themselves showed extraordinary activity in exploring and condemning territory which, had they been able to hold it, would have made France the sovereign power of the New World. Prominent Canadians dreaded the invasion of the Ohio Valley by the northern English colonies, recognising in it the first move of their implacable enemy in a progress westward. They also watched with anxiety the encroachment of the Southern colonies towards the mouth of the Mississippi, the control of which would frustrate the consummation of the policy which Frontenac, through La Salle, had inaugurated, of drawing a circle tightly around his dangerous neighbours. In a feeble way France encouraged the Canadians. Formerly she repressed the expansive tendencies of the colonists, because anxious to concentrate

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their small numbers and scanty resources. But the Iroquois were then their only aggressive enemies. Now they were exposed to attack by a far more formidable foe—and that from many quarters.

The Mississippi had been discovered before the seventeenth century closed; La Salle had made his futile attempt to reach its mouth by sea; and he, Tonti, and other adventurers had explored the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi and the Ohio. La Salle had built Fort St. Louis, around which the powerful nation of the Illinois had gathered. Subsequently Detroit was founded as a fort, and became a prosperous colony of traders and Indians, whither the Potawatamis, Ottawas, and the western remnants of the Huron nation resorted for traffic. Other attractive centres of trade were Michilimackinac and Green Bay, where the Sacs, Winnebagos, and other tribes congregated. Yet the French were not able to monopolise the fur trade of the vast territory, which they had discovered and were evangelising; for the Iroquois, as allies of England, had sent war parties down the Illinois River and held the Illinois in check, and there were Lake tribes, like the Foxes, who were avowedly hostile to the Canadians. Though, therefore, Canadian progress westward was not made without opposition, and though such powerful tribes as the Sioux at first threatened the first explorers with violence, the French of every class, whether missionaries, explorers, or *courreurs des bois*, exhibited such tact and adaptability to Indian habits, or some strange quality of sympathy and temper which the English signally lacked, that they soon removed suspicion and disarmed resistance. Thanks to these gracious qualities, they made friends of such distant and ferocious tribes as even the Comanches.



Part of Franquelin's Map of North America, in which Chicago is Indicated for the First Time.

The most important colonial work of the home government was the founding of the colony of Louisiana, but this was done mainly by using Canadian material and through Canadian energy. Nevertheless the lessons of Canada's failure were unheeded, for the attempt to colonise the Mississippi through the agency of commercial companies was repeated, and with the same result as had followed on the St. Lawrence. Besides assisting in founding the colony of Louisiana, Canadians mapped the Mississippi to Lake Pepin; traced the Missouri almost to its source; ascended the Red River to the Arkansas; entered New Mexico through Kansas and Colorado, and explored the Canadian and United States North-west to the base of the Rocky Mountains. La Vérendrye nearly deprived Lewis and Clark of the glory of their great transcontinental discoveries. Everywhere we find traces in the nomenclature of the West of these intrepid explorers and of the Canadian trappers who followed them, though in the transformation which words undergo it will soon be difficult to trace the originals. One of the branches of the Arkansas, in Colorado, was named the Purgatoire—no doubt with good reason. To-day the name is transformed into the Picket-wire. These hardy travellers not only explored, but built forts, and claimed this vast domain for the Crown of France by as good a title as that by which any part of the continent was held. A circle of some twenty fortified posts was drawn around the thirteen colonies from Louisbourg to New Orleans; but forts without adequate garrisons availed little against England, and especially against her colonists, once the inertia of their constitution-making habits had been fairly overcome and they began their irresistible movement westward. For nearly a century and a half the English had been content to remain confined between the sea

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and the Alleghenies. Far from being idle, they had been busy experimenting on systems of self-government and Church organisation, and in building up a foreign commerce. And therefore Canadians began to fear lest communities which claimed and had asserted successfully the right to govern themselves, once they discovered that the Ohio Valley was a richer country by far than their bleak and barren seaboard, would ask no man's leave to overstep the mountain barrier which separated them from it. They numbered about three million souls. Beyond the mountains they were met by forts and a population of less than 50,000, scattered in small groups along 3500 miles of river and lake, from Cape Breton to the Gulf of Mexico. What resulted from this collision of unequal forces we all know!

The fall of Quebec was one of the pivotal facts in American as well as European history. It and the subsequent surrender of the whole of French Canada were the fulfilment of the colonial policy, and the consummation of attempt after attempt by the English on the coast to drive the French from the valley of the St. Lawrence. Yet when Quebec at length fell, though the colonists had made diversions on Lake Champlain and Niagara, the conquest was effected by British sailors and British soldiers, almost without co-operation of the colonists; and therefore the colonists were not consulted as to its future government. As events occurred, the English on the Atlantic entered the Ohio Valley after the conquest, but very few were tempted to settle on the St. Lawrence; and therefore Canada has remained a survival of New France. But the people of Old France, stimulated by the new Republican ideas which had been carried across the sea, and emboldened by the example of the successful rebellious colonists,

became a New France, re-born of the French Revolution. And thus was restored in part the balance between the Old World and the New.

Pitt had been made by a reluctant King his Prime Minister in 1757, when war—the Seven Years' War—had already broken out all over Europe, and was as usual transferred to America, where the tide of battle had set for a time against the English. They had lost Fort William Henry on Lake Champlain and Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, though Fort Frontenac was by a gallant move taken by Bradstreet, when smarting under the defeat at Ticonderoga of Abercrombie's army, of which he was a colonel. But the tide turned in 1758, when Louisbourg fell before the land forces under Amherst and the naval forces under Admiral Boscowen. The same year Fort Duquesne, where Braddock had suffered defeat in 1755, surrendered to General Forbes, who rechristened it Pittsburg, after the great war minister.

In 1759, to Wolfe, who had distinguished himself as a brigadier-general at Louisbourg, was entrusted the reduction of Quebec. His army consisted of 8000 men, and his colleague was Admiral Saunders, who commanded forty-nine vessels mounting 2000 guns and carrying 13,000 men. The assistance of the fleet has been generally underestimated in the Quebec campaign; but Major Wood in his *Fight for Canada* assigns to it its true position and importance. To divert the enemy, Fort Niagara was attacked and taken by Johnson with a force of regulars and colonial troops; and General Amherst himself led a large force against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, where Abercrombie had been so signally defeated in 1758 by Montcalm. He took both positions, but he moved so slowly that he was unable to co-operate, as planned, with Wolfe. Johnson, after

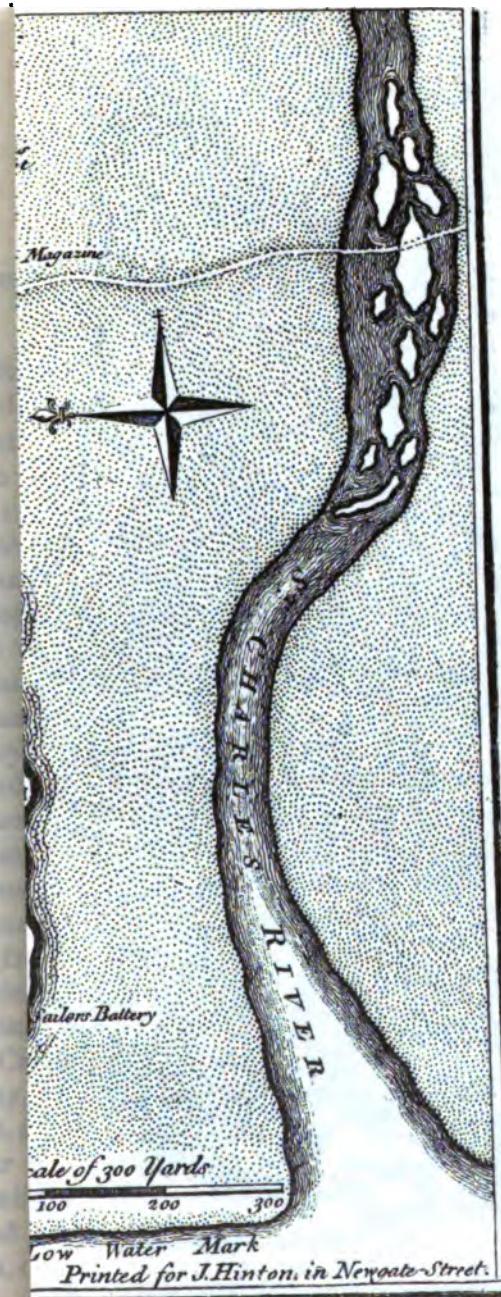
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taking Fort Niagara, and Amherst, after clearing Lake Champlain of the French, were to have combined forces and taken Montreal and then joined Wolfe, but neither of these, with his large contingent of colonists, was able to carry out his share of the programme.

The siege, which lasted from June 26th, when Admiral Saunders's fleet anchored off the island of Orleans, until the 13th of September, when the struggle on the Plains of Abraham resulted in the defeat of Montcalm and the capitulation of the city on the 18th of the same month, was less an investment than a series of desultory engagements, ending in a duel on which Wolfe in despair staked his all, and which Montcalm, from a chivalrous sense of honour, elected to fight in the open, rather than await attack behind entrenchments. The romantic characters of these two commanders and their tragic deaths,—the brilliant and daring move of the young but frail English general, and the magnificent ardour with which the noble of old France picked up the gauge of battle,—the beautiful landscape around the scene of conflict, and the tremendous issues which hung on the result, have made the Battle of the Plains, though only 10,000 men were engaged upon both sides, one of the great battles of the world.

All the circumstances, however, attending this, the last act in the drama of which Quebec had been the scene, were an inevitable culmination of what had gone before, and a tragical climax to the plot in which the *dramatis personæ* had been Old France and Old England, New France and New England.

QUEBEC.



CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDING OF PLYMOUTH COLONY AS TOLD BY GOVERNOR BRADFORD

THE early years of the Plymouth Colony are best described by Governor Bradford himself. His narrative of what the colonists did, and his revelation of the motives of their actions is characterised by a most charming frankness and sincere simplicity. At the same time his style is distinguished from that of the Puritan authors by a delightful absence of circumlocution and a freedom from explanatory digression. These qualities make it easier to tell the story in his own language than it is to use either Winthrop's *Journal*, or Champlain's more prolix histories in describing the infancy of Massachusetts Bay or New France. It is a wonderful human story!

It was in the fourth year of the reign of James I that he granted a charter to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and others to "make several plantations in the parts of America between the degrees of 34 and 45, with free liberty to divide themselves into two several colonies, the one to be undertaken and advanced by certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants in and about the City of London; the other, called the second colony, to be undertaken by inhabitants of Bristol, Exon, and Plymouth." In conformity with this patent, under which the Virginia, or first Colony, had been organised and had undergone many vicissitudes, he issued another patent in the eighteenth year of his reign, on November 3, 1620, authorising the establish-

ment of the second, or Plymouth Colony. The intentions of the second group of colonists to subsist on trade are expressed in the charter; for the patent provides that "for their better encouragement and satisfaction therein, and that they may avoid all confusion, question or differences beween themselves and those of the said first colony, we would likewise be graciously pleased to make certain adventures, intending to erect and establish fisheries, trade, and plantations within the territories, precincts, and limits of the said second colony and their successors, one several distinct and entire body, and to grant unto them such estate, liberties, privileges, enlargements, and immunities there as are in these our letters patent hereafter particularly expressed and declared." The wording of the patent is that of a charter of a commercial company. But, as in the case of the Massachusetts patent, the colonists, as circumstance or necessity dictated, converted their articles of incorporation into a political constitution. The Virginia, or first, Colony was a distinctly agricultural community. The organisers of the Plymouth Colony looked to the sea, not to the land, as the field of industry and profit. John Robinson in a letter to John Carver on June 14th, before the Pilgrims sailed, expresses the commercial motives of the colonists when he says: "And let this spetially be borne in minde, yt the greatest parte of ye Collonie is like to be employed constantly, not upon dressing ther perticular land & building houses, but upon fishing, trading, &c. So as ye land & house will be but a trifell for advantage to ye adventurers, and yet the devission of it a great discouragemente to ye planters, who would with singuler care make it comfortable with borrowed houres from their sleep."¹

¹ Bradford, p. 60. (Edition printed by Wright & Potter, Boston, 1898.)



Governor Edward Winslow.

From an old print.

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The right of self-government, as far as was necessary for internal harmony and external protection, was conferred on the colonists, who were authorised to "make, ordain and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, and the same at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke or change, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also upon the seas, in going and coming to and from the said colony, as they, in their good discretion, shall think to be the fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there."¹

The adventurers were addressed as shareholders in a commercial corporation—not as citizens of a new commonwealth. Exemption was given in the charter from export and import duties for a period of seven years. Ample military powers were conferred on the adventurers; and, as the concession was given to a trading company, the company was authorised to "take and surprise" all persons and their ships "not being allowed by the said council to be adventurers or planters of the said colony." "And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire, or expect of this action is the conversion of, and reduction of the people in those parts, unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we would be loath that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to affect the superstition of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time to be made into the said country, but such as shall first have taken

¹ *Laws of New Plymouth*, p. 8.

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the oath of supremacy; for which purpose, we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to the president of said council, to tender and exhibit the said oath to all such persons as shall at any time be sent and employed in the said voyage.”¹

Though they had come out as shareholders and members of a corporation, which held the land ceded to them in common with their London associates; yet as being a group of Englishmen, under English law, they, as a civil body politic, at once organised themselves into a self-governing community. But the charter, in confirming on the colonists the right to regulate their own internal affairs and to defend their property and privileges from attack, did not thereby endow them with all the powers of an independent state, or of such complete self-government as they soon commenced to exercise with the tacit if not formal consent of the British Government.

The contract between the partners to the company is given in Bradford, p. 56:

“Ano: 1620, July 1.

“1. The adventurers & planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being aged 16 years and upward, be rated at ten pounds £10, and that ten pounds £10 be accounted a single share.

“2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth him selfe out with £10, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as haveing £20 in stock, and in ye devission shall receive a double share.

“3. The persons transported & ye adventurers shall continue their joynt stock & partnership togeather, ye space of 7 years, (excepte some unexpected impedimente doe cause ye whole company to agree otherwise,) during which time, all profits & benifits

¹ *Laws of New Plymouth*, p. 17.

The names of those which came over first, in 3rd year 1620.
 and thereby by the blessing of god the first beginners, and
 (in a sort) the foundation of all the plantations, and
 Colonies, in New-England (and their families.)

1.	John Carver, Katherine his wife; Desire Minter; & 2. men-servants John Howland Roger Willer. William Latham, a boy, is a maid servant; & a child was put to him called Jasper More	2.	Captain Myles Standish and Rose his wife
3.		4.	Christopher Martin, and his wife; and 2. servants; Salamon prouer, and John Langmore
5.		6.	William Mullins, and his wife; and 2. children Joseph, & Priscila; and a servant Robert Carter.
6.	William Brewster. Mary his wife, with 2. sons, whose names were Loue, & Stralling; and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and the rest of his children were left behind & came over afterwards.	7.	William White, and Susana his wife; and one son Caleb rehued, and one borne a ship bord called yericriene; & 2. servants, named William Holbeck & Edward Thompson
5.	Edward Winslow Elizabeth his wife, & 2. men-servants, called George Somly, and Elias Story; also a little girl was put to him called Ellen, the sister of Richard More.	8.	Hopkin Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth his wife; and 2. Children, called Giles, and Constantia a daughter; both by a former wife. And 2. more by this wife, called Damaris, & Oceanus, the last was borne at sea. And 2. servants, called Edward Doty, and Edward Little.
2.	William Bradford, and Dorothy his wife, having but one child, a son left behind, who came afterwards.	1.	Richard Warren, ^{dead} , but his wife and children were left behind and came afterwards
6.	Naack Allerton, and Mary his wife; with 3. Children Bartholomew Remember, & Mary. and a servant boy, John Hooke.	4.	John Billington, and Elen his wife. and 2. sons John, & Francis.
2.	Samuel Fuller, and a servant, called William Butten. His wife was left behind & a child, which came afterwards.	4.	Edward Tille, and Ann his wife; and 2. Children that were sicke: Cofens, Henry Sampson, and Humble Bity Coper
2.	John Crighton and his son John Crighton	3.	John Tille, and his wife, and Elizabeth their daughter

The List of Pilgrims who Came over on the "Mayflower."

From Bradford's Journal.

2.	Francis Coake, and his son John; but his wife & other children came afterwards	John Fletcher, and Thomas English were both hired, the latter to go in of a shallop here, and of other was required as one of company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the ship returned.
2.	Thomas Rogers, and Joseph his son; his other children came afterwards.	There were also other 2. seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Grewere; and one Esq. but when their time was out they both returned.
2.	Thomas Sinker, and his wife, and a son	
2.	John Rigdale, and Alice his wife.	These being about a hundred souls came over in this first ship; and began this works, which out of his goodness hath Willm. Mifflin, Ld. of holy name had, prays.
3.	James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary their daughter; they had an other daughter f ^t was married came afterwards.	And seeing it hath pleased him to give me 30 years compleated, since these beginnings, and that the great works of his Providence are to be observed. I have thought it not unmeetly my praines, to take a view of the decessions, & increasing of these persons, and such changes as hath passed over them, & theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some service such as come after; but however of service in my own perfit.
3.	Edward Fuller, and his wife; and Samuel their sonne.	
3.	John Turner, and 2. sonnes; he had a daughter come some years after to y ^r aler, when she is now living.	
3.	Francis Eaton, and Sarah his wife, and Samuel their son, a young child	
10.	Moyses Fletcher John Goodman Thomas Williams Digerie Preist Edmont Margeson Peter Browne Richard Britteridge Richard Clarke Richard Gardner Gilbert Winslow	I will therefore take them in order as they ly.
1.	John Fletcher was hired for a Cooper, at South-Weyton when the ship Ribley; and being a roguish young man was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go, or stay when he came here, but he stayed, and married here.	In Carter and his wife, dyed the first year, being string, the next summer; also his son Roger, and a little boy Jasper, dyed before either of them of common infection. His master, returned to her forid C ^r ountry, and dyed in England. His servant boy Leach after more than 20 years lay in this Country went into England; and from thence to the Savoye glades in Westm ^r aynes; and there with some others was starved for want of food. His maid servant married, & dyed a year or two after here in this place. His servant John Hoselink married the daughter of John Gillis, Elizabeth, and they are both now living; and have 10. Children now all living and their eldest daughter Ruth A. Fisher

17. And that 23 daughter, one, all living
 and other of their children many
 aged 10. so 15. are come of them.
 18. And Brewster lived to very old
 age; about 80, he was taken his
 dyet, having lived some 23 or
 24 years here in y^r country. C
 though his wife dyed long before,
 yet she dyed aged. His son Thomas
 the dyed a young man unmarried;
 his son Lou, till this year 1650.
 and dyed, & left 4 children, now
 living. His daughters which came
 over after him, are dead but have
 left sundry Children alive; his
 eldest son is still living, and
 hath 9. or 10. Children, one mar-
 ried who hath 2 children.
 19. Richard more, his brother dyed the
 first winter; but he is married, and
 hath 4. or 5. Children, all living.
 20. And Ed. Winslow, his wife dyed the
 first winter; and he married with
 the widow of m White, and hath 2.
 Children living by her marriage,
 besides sundry that are dead;
 one of his servants dyed, as also the
 little girl soon after the ships ar-
 rived. But his man George Soule
 is still living, and hath 8. Children.
 21. William Bradford, his wife dyed
 soon after their arrival; and he
 married again; and hath 4. Chil-
 dren. 2. wifey are married.
 who dyed 9 of May 1656.
 22. And Fletcher his wife dyed with the
 first, and his servant John Hooke
 his son Bartle is married in England
 but y^r know not how many children
 he hath. His daughter remeber is
 married at Salem & hath 3. or 4.
 Children living. And his daughter
 Mary is married here, & hath 4.
 Children. His selfe married againe
 with y^r daughter of And Brewster, &
 hath one sonne living by her; but
 she is long since dead. And
 he is married againe, and hath left
 the place long agoe. So y^r account
 his increase to be 8. & besides his
 sons in England.
 23. And father, his servant dyed at sea; and
 after his wife came over, he had two
 children by her; which are living
 and grownne 20 to yeare. But he dyed
 some 15. years agoe.
 24. John Craderton dyed in the first mor-
 tality; and about some 5. or 6. years
 after his son dyed, having lost him
 selfe in y^r modes, his son became freter,
 which put him into a feaver, of which
 he dyed.
 25. Captain Standish his wife dyed in
 the first sickness; and he married
 againe, and hath 4. sonnes liv-
 ing, 2. and some are dead.
 26. & who dyed 3 of Oct 1655.
 27. And Brewster, he and all his, dyed
 in the first infestation; not long
 after the arrivel.
 28. And Wollaston, and his wife, his
 son, & his servant dyed the first
 winter. Only his daughter Priscilla
 survived, and married with John
 Fether, who are both living, and
 have 11. Children. And their eldest
 daughter is married & hath five
 Children. See M.E. Memorial.
 p. 22.
 29. And White, and his 2. servants dyed
 soon after their landing. His wife mari-
 ed with m Winslow (as is before noted)
 His 2. son are married; and resolute
 hath 5. Children; perigrine too,
 all living. So their increase are 7.
 30. And Hopkins, and his wife are now
 both dead; but they lised above
 20. years in this place, and had one
 son, and 4. daughters borne here.
 Their son became a seaman, & dyed
 at Barbadoes, one daughter dyed here.
 and 2. are married. one of
 them hath 2. Children, & one is yet
 to marry. so their y^r increase, which
 still survive, are 5. but his
 son Giles, is married, and hath 4.
 Children.

- 16
- his daughter constanza, is also married, and hath 12. Children all of them living, and one of them married.
- 6.
- Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sickness, but his son Joseph is still living, and is married, and hath 6. Children. The rest of Thomas Rogers came over, & are married, & have many children.
-
- 4:
- Richard Warren lived some 4. or 5. years, and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had 2. Sons before dyed; and one of them is married, and hath 2. Children so his increase is 4. But he had 5. daughters more came over with his wife, who are all married, & living & have many children.
-
- 8.
- John Billinton after he had been here 10. years, was executed for killing a man; and his eldest Son dyed before him; But his 2. Son is alive, and married, & hath 8. Children
-
- 7.
- Edward Tilie, and his wife both dyed soon after their arrival, and the girl Humility their cousin, was sent for into Engtnd, and dyed ther. But the youth Henry Sampson, is still living, and is married, & hath 7. Children.
-
- 4
- John Tilie, and his wife both dyed, not abide after they came ashore; and their daughter Elizabeth married with John Howland and hath issue as is before noted.
-
- 8
- Francis Cooke is still living, a very olde man, and hath seene his Children, children, have Children: after his wife came over, (with other of his Children) he hath 3. still living by her, all married, and have 5. Children so their encrease is 8. And his Son John is which came over with him, is married, and hath 4. Children living.
-
- 1663
about 80
- Francis Cooke is still living, a very olde man, and hath seene his Children, children, have Children: after his wife came over, (with other of his Children) he hath 3. still living by her, all married, and have 5. Children so their encrease is 8. And his Son John is which came over with him, is married, and hath 4. Children living.
-
- 6.
- Thomas Ginker, and his wife, and Son, all dyed in the first sickness.
- And so did John Rigdale, and his wife.
- 10.
- James Chilton, and his wife also dyed in the infection, but their daughter Mary, is still living and hath 9. Children; and one daughter is married, & hath a Child; so their increase is 10.
-
- 4
- Edward Fuller, and his wife dyed soon after they came ashore; but their Son Samuel is living, & married, and hath 4. Children or more.
-
- 4
- John Guener, and his 2. Sons all dyed in the first sickness. But he hath a daughter still living at Salem, well married, and approved of
-
- 4
- Francis Eaton, his first wife dyed in the general sickness; and he married againe his 2. wife dyed, & he married the 3. and had by her 3. Children: one of them is married, & hath a Child; the other are living, but one of them is an Idiot. He dyed about 16. years agoe.
- 1.
- his Son Samuel, who came over a sucking Child is also married, & hath a Child
-
- Moyses Fletcher
Thomas Williams
Vigorie priest
John Goodman
Edmond Margefon
Richard Britterige
Richard Clarke
- All these dyed soon after their arrival, in the general sickness that before. But Vigorie priest had his wife & Children sent hither afterwards she being Edmerton's Sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.
-
- 6.
- Richard Gardiner, became a seaman, and dyed in Engtnd, or at sea.
- Gilbert Winslow after diverse years abroad here, returned into Engtnd and dyed ther.
-
- 4
- Peter Brownne married twice, by his first wife he had 2. Children, who are living & both of them married, and the one of them hath 2. Children by his second wife, he had 2. more; he dyed about 16. years since

Thomas English; and John Fletcher,
died in his general sickness.

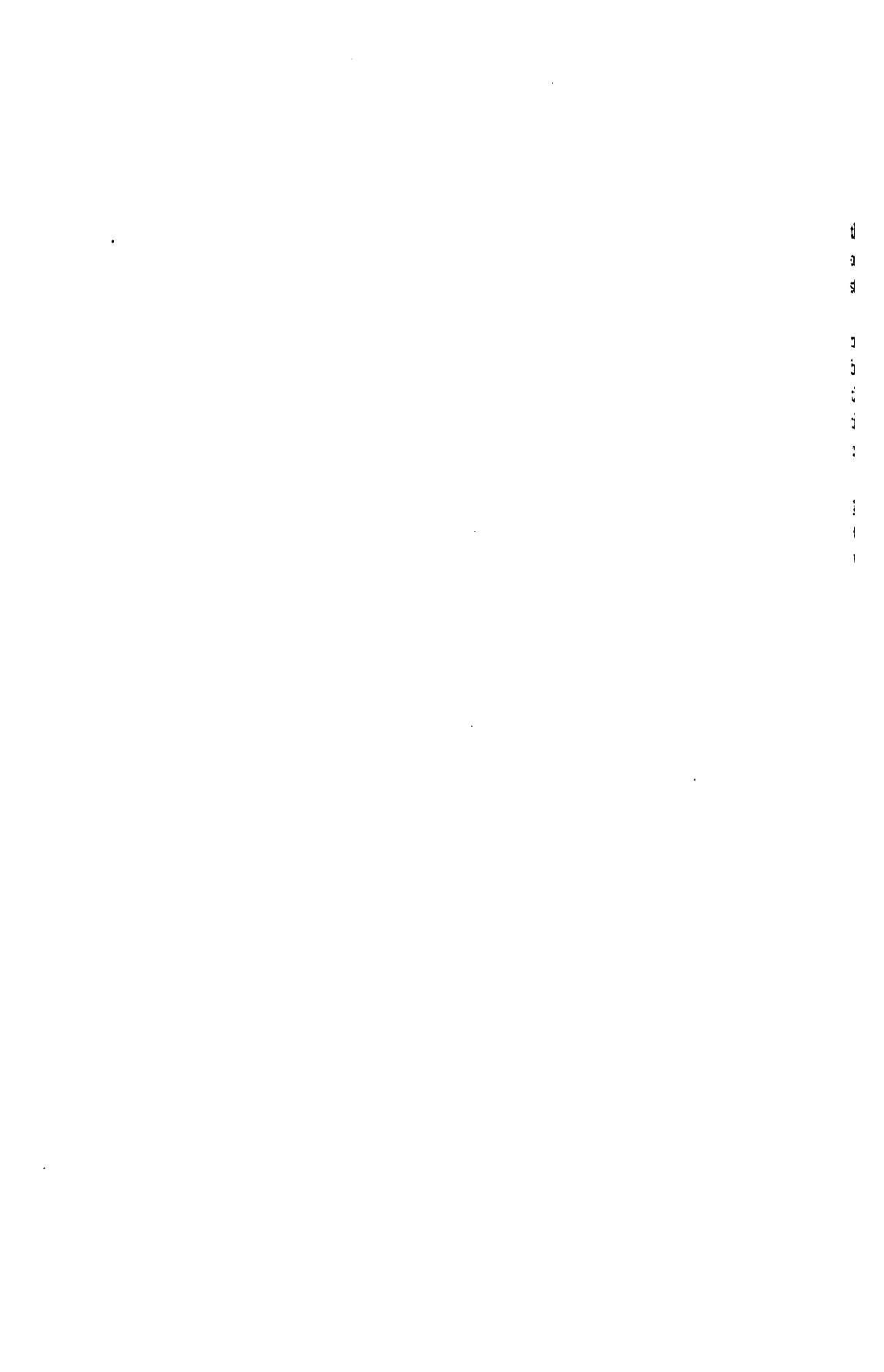
John Fletcher married with priscilla,
and she lives his daughter, and she
by her self before married.

Edward Doty, & Edward Little-
the servants of Mr Hopkins: Little-
after he was at Leiden, went to Yer-
gona, & ther dyed. And Edward by
a second wife hath 7 children
and both he and they are living.

of these 100 persons which came
first over, in this first ship together
the greater halfe dyed in the general
mortality; and most of them in 2-
or three moneths time. But for
those which survived though some
were ancient & past procreation; &
others left y^e place and curried
yet those few remaining are living
up above 160 persons; in this 20.
years. and are now living in this
present year 1650. besides many
of their children which are dead
and come not within this account
one of the old stock (of one, &
other) ther are yet living this pres-
ent year 1650. neare 30 persons.
Let the Lord have y^e praise; who is
the High preferuer of men.

Twelve persons living of
the old stock this pre-
sent yeare 1679.

Two persons living that came
over in the first shipe 1620
this present yeare 1690.
Isaac and white and Mary
Cushman, the daughter of
Mr Alderton
and John Cooke the son of
Francis Cooke that came in the
first shipe & still living in
this present yeare 1690
Mary Cushman is st^t &
louing the present yeare
1698



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that are gott by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remaine still in ye comone stock untill ye division.

"4. That at their coming ther, they chose out such a number of fitt persons, as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon ye sea; imploying the rest in their severall faculties upon ye land; as building houses, tilling, and planting ye ground, & makeing shuch comodities as shall be most usefull for ye collonie.

"5. That at ye end of ye 7 years, ye capitall & profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods and chatles, be equally divided betwixte ye adventurers, and planters; wch done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detrimente concerning this adventure.

"6. Whosoever cometh to ye colonie hereafter, or putteth any into ye stock, shall at the ende of ye 7 years be alowed proportionably to ye time of his so doing.

"7. He that shall carie his wife & children, or servants, shall be alowed for everie person now aged 16. years & upward, a single share in ye devision, or if he provid them necessaries, a duble share, or if they be between 10. year old and 16. then 2. of them to be reckoned for a person, both in trasportation and devision.

"8. That such children as now goe, & are under ye age of ten years, have noe other shar in ye devision, but 50. acres of unmanured land.

"9. That such persons as die before ye 7. years be expired, their executors to have their parte or sharr at ye devision, proportionably to ye time of their life in ye collonie.

"10. That all persons as are of this collonie, are to have their meate, drink, apparell, and all provissons out of ye common stock & goods of ye said collonie."

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Such were the terms of the great patent of New England under which, whether it was so intended or not, the Pilgrim fathers founded the independent colony of New Plymouth, and of the contract between the partners in England and the partners who migrated. They had sailed away from Plymouth on September 6, 1620, though the patent was not signed till November 3d. A royal signature mattered little: They had started as emissaries of a higher power, and on November 11th they made their solemn compact on board the *Mayflower* off Cape Cod, in the following words:

"In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, & Ireland King, defender of ye faith, &c., having undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In Witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. Ano: Dom. 1620."

The first act after selecting a site for their settlement was to confirm Mr. John Carver as their Governor for that year.

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"On 25th December, 1620, they began to erect ye first house for common use, to receive there their goods."

After beginning to build some cottages "they mette and consulted of lawes and orders both for their civill and military Governmente."¹

During the winter "there dyed some times two or three of a day" so that "of 100 and odd persons scarce 50 remained." It was just such a winter's agony as befell Cartier's crew and Champlain's little group of Frenchmen, during their first winter at Quebec, when only eight out of twenty-eight survived.

Of the little group of Pilgrims Bradford singles out "Will Brewster, ther reverend Elder," and "Myles Standish ther Captein & military commander," as those "unto whom my selfe & many others, were much beholden in our low & sick condition."

John Carver, the first Governor, died in April, 1621, of apoplexy, and William Bradford was elected in his stead.

Bradford tells us that as soon as the first spring after their landing broke the dismal spell of the first doleful winter, "they began to plant ther corne, in which service Squanto (a friendly Indian) stood them in great stead, showing them both ye maner how to set it, and after how to dress & tend it. Also he tould them excepte they gott fish & set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing, and showed them yt in ye midle of Aprile they should have store enough come up ye brooke, by which they began to build, and taught them how to take it, and wher to get other provissions necessary for them; all which they found true by triall & experience. Some English seed they sew, as wheat & pease, but it came not to good, eather by ye badnes

¹ Bradford, p. 110.

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of ye seed, or latenes of ye season, or both, or some other defecte."¹

And when September came round, "They begane now to gather in ye small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health & strength, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, & bass, & other fish, of which ye tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All ye somer ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besids water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies, of which they tooke many, besids vension, &c. Besids they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corne to yt proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their friends in England, which were not fained, but true reports."²

The spirit which animated the colonists was the reverse of that which possessed the Frenchmen on the St. Lawrence. Champlain had in vain urged them to cultivate the ground, but his urgent solicitation was so inefficient that when Champlain surrendered Quebec to Kirke in 1629, twenty-one years after the foundation of the city, the French colony numbered somewhat less than 100 souls, and besides the gardens cultivated by the Recollet friars and the Jesuit fathers, only one and a half acres of land were under cultivation. When Kirke's fleet hove in sight to capture the post, most of the half-famished inhabitants of the fort were in the woods gathering roots.

¹ Bradford, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

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Just a twelvemonth after the Pilgrims themselves had landed, a small ship, *The Fortune*, arrived with a contingent of thirty-five "lusty yonge men and many of them wild enough"; and though they were glad of this addition of strength, they "would have wished that many of them had been of beter condition, and all of them beter furnished with provissions; but yt could not now be helpte."

The fifty men who had survived must have worked hard all summer, for besides rebuilding the community house, which had been burnt during the winter, and some cottages, and planting and fishing, they were able to dispatch the same ship, *The Fortune*, which had brought the *unwelcome* human cargo, "laden with good clapbord as full as she could stowe, and 2 hoggs-heads of beaver and otter skins, which they gott with a few trifling comodities brought with them at first, being alltogeather unprovided for trade; neither was ther any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came hear, and were informed by Squanto. The freight was estimated to be worth near 500 pounds."¹

The advent of these thirty-five lusty fellows with good appetites necessitated putting the colony on half rations; but besides bone and sinew they introduced already into the colony a discordant element, which was the first symptom of that worldliness and dissent which in time, under free institutions, altered the constitution which the Puritans would have desired to impress on their community for all time.

Governor Bradford, after telling of the organisation of the colonists as a fighting force against possible Indian attack, and of the building of a flimsy fortification as a defence, and of the creation of a fire brigade,

¹ Bradford, p. 130.

describes in a jocular manner the measures by which he repressed the holiday manners of the said lusty fellows.

"I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth than of waight. On ye day called Chrismas-day, ye Govr caled them out to worke, (as was used,) but ye most of this new-company excused them selves and said it wente against their consciences to worke on yt day. So ye Govr tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away ye rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in ye streeete at play, openly; some pitching ye barr, & some at stoole-ball, and shuch like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made ye keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in ye streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."¹

Throughout the summer of 1622, being left unprovided by their English partners, the colonists suffered from scarcity, which was relieved by food from one fishing smack and by exchanging Indian trinkets, which they bought from another passing ship, for corn. But from this scanty store, they had to help others, more forlorn and less prudent than themselves; for not only fishermen from England, but ill-provided groups of colonists frequented these inhospitable shores. One of their most prominent original shareholders, Mr. Weston, himself became an object of their charity and a certain John Peirce, another partner, played them false, by securing in his own name another grand patent, whereby their former patent "was made quite

¹ Bradford, p. 134-135.

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void," and for which the colony had to pay him £500.¹

It must have strained their charity to help men who were poaching on their reserves for the Plymouth Company, under the Council of New England, with its privileges on sea as well as land, fared as ill at the hands of poachers as did the commercial companies of New France; and there was the same opposition to monopoly by the shipmasters of Devon and Cornwall as by the merchants of Rouen, Dieppe, and La Rochelle. Measures of protection were taken, but in vain. For instance: "About ye later end of June came in a ship, with Captaine Francis West, who had a commission to be admirall of New-England to restraine interlopers, and shuch fishing ships as came to fish & trade without a license from ye Counsell of New-England, for which they should pay a round sume of money. But he could doe no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found ye fisher men to be stuberne fellows. And their owners, upon complainte made to ye Parlemente, procured an order y^t ye fishing should be free."²

Mr. Weston had sold his share and made an inglorious failure in attempting to found an independent colony in Massachusetts Bay. The profits did not equal his hopes or those of any of his partners. The Plymouth colonists after landing of course sent back the *Mayflower* empty and the following year shipped back a few beaver skins and a little lumber. That they shipped anything bespeaks their remarkable energy; but the consignments were insufficient to satisfy the commercial expectations of merchants, who looked on the venture from a purely commercial point of view. When small returns were made from America they cut off supplies and left their religious partners to starve. The colonists, on the other hand, soon discovered that

¹ Bradford, p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

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the common home and common farm and common treasury failed in New England, as elsewhere, to stimulate energy. Bradford tells us what happened under communism, why it happened, and what was the result, in a few sentences, well worthy of quotation:¹

"At length, after much debate of things, the Govr (with ye advise of ye cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne particuler, and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in ye generall way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devission for inheritance), and ranged all boys & youth under some familie. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other waise would have bene by any means ye Govr or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente. The women now wente willingly into ye field, and tooke their litleons with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

"The experience that was had in this comone course

¹ Hutchinson, p. 447, says: "They held their lands, as of the manor of East-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not in capite, nor by knight service. They strangely supposed that socage-tenure included all the properties and customs of gavelkind, one of which is, the father to the bough, the son to the plough. God having forbod the alienation of lands from one tribe to another in the commonwealth of Israel, so among the first laws of the colony it was provided, 'that no free inhabitant of any town should sell the lands allotted to him in the town, but to some one or other of the free inhabitants of that town, unless the town gave consent, or refused to give what others offered without fraud.' This law could not continue long in force. All the valuable ends were answered by making lands liable to pay taxes upon them to the town where they lay, though the lands be not the property of the inhabitants."

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and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that ye taking away of propertie, and bringing in comunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much imploymet that would have been to their benefite and conforte. For ye yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & strenght to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails & cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter ye other could; this was thought injuestice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, &c., with ye meaner & yonger sorte, thought it some indignite & disrespect unto them. And for mens wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dressing their meate, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon ye poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought them selves in ye like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut of those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take of ye mutuall respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have bene worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none objecte this is men's corruption, and nothing to ye course it selfe. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdom saw another course fiter for them."¹

¹ Bradford, pp. 162-164. Again Bradford says (p. 177): "And

These radical changes were forced on the colonists, not only by discontent among themselves, but because as the colony grew, undesirable emigrants unavoidably continued to enter with the chosen. Thus from the ship *Anne*¹ there were landed sixty persons, some of them members of the corporation, and therefore under communistic pledges, but "besids these ther came a company, that did not belong to ye generall body, but came on their particuler, and were to have lands assigned them, and before them selves, yet to be subiecte to ye generall Government; which caused some differance and disturbance amongst them, as will after appeare."²

A letter from the English Company explains this departure from the principles on which the company was organised:

"Ther are also come unto you, some honest men to plant upon their particulers besids you. A thing which if we should not give way unto, we should wrong both them and you. Them, by putting them on things more inconveniente, and you, for that being honest men, they will be a strengthening to ye place, and good neighbours unto you. Tow things we would advise you of, which we have likewise signified them hear. First, ye trade for skins to be retained for the generall till ye devidente; 2ly, yt their setling by you, be with shuch distance of place as is neither inconvenient for ye lying of your lands, nor hurtful to your speedy & easie assembling togeather."³ But it was found difficult to reconcile principles and interests.

ye effect of their particuler planting was well seene, for all had, one way & another, pretty well to bring ye year aboute, and some of ye abler sorte and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day."

¹ Bradford, p. 171. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

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The ship returned laden with lumber and beaver skins, and a good harvest provided food for the new comers and the old; but some of the "perticulers," discouraged by the general prospect and the loss of their homes and stores by fire, took the first opportunity of leaving by ship.

The previous departure from communistic practice had gone no further than assigning to each colonist the right of cultivating an assigned lot. But the next step demanded was actual private ownership. Bradford,¹ after describing the prevailing system of barter in corn, "for money they had none, and if any had, corne was preferred before it," reiterates: "That they might therfore encrease their tillage to better advantage, they made suite to the Govr to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lotte, for by that means, that which ye more industrious had brought into good culture (by much pains) one year, came to have it ye nexte, and often another might injoy it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more slighted over, & to less profite. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given only one acrre of land, to them & theirs, as nere ye towne as might be, and they had no more till ye 7. years were expired."²

Those of their English associates who had not lost all courage, wrote "To our loving friends" a letter of scant encouragement, telling them that it was "ye many losses and crosses at sea, and abuses of sea-men" which had ruined the adventures in England; and therefore "Now we thinke it but reason, that all such things as ther apertaine to the generall, be kept & preserved togeather, and rather increased dayly, then any way be dispersed or imbeseled away for any private ends or

¹P. 188.

²Bradford, p. 201.

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intents whatsoever. And after your necessities are served, you gather togeather such comodities as ye cuntrie yeelds, & send them over to pay debts & clear ingagements hear, which are not less than 1400 pounds. And we hope you will doe your best to free our ingagements, &c. Let us all indeavor to keep a faire & honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God in his providence will worke for us."¹

There was small consolation in urging them to trust in God, while they were charging excessive rates on the stores which they were sending. Their loving friends across the sea closed their letter by advising them that "We have sent you hear some catle, cloath, hose, shoes, leather, &c., but in another nature then formerly, as it stood us in hand to doe; we have omitted them to ye charge & custody of Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow, as our factours, at whose discretion they are to be sould, and comodities to be taken for them, as is fitting. And by how much ye more they will be chargable unto you, the better they had need to be husbanded, &c. Goe on, good friends, comfortably, pluck up your spirits, and quitte your selves like men in all your difficulties."²

Brave advice from cravens to heroes! Bradford's comments under the circumstances are wondrous mild: "By this leter it appears in what state ye affairs of ye plantation stood at this time. These goods they bought, but they were at deare rates, for they put 40 in ye hundred upon them, for profite and adventure, outward bound; and because of ye venture of ye paiment homeward, they would have 30 in ye hundred more which was in all 70 per cent; a thing thought unreasonable by some, and too great an oppression upon ye poore people, as their case stood. The catle

¹ Bradford, pp. 241-242.

² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

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were ye best goods, for ye other being ventured ware, were neither at ye best (some of them) nor at ye best prices. Sundrie of their friends disliked these high rates but coming from many hands, they could not help it."¹

Two ships were sent over with these high-priced commodities. They were to return laden with fish. Their fate illustrates the tremendous risk merchants ran in those troublous times. Of the two ships one was a *pinass* (pinnace) under instructions to fish and return with cod and beaver skins, bought from the colonists in exchange for the high-priced goods already referred to. The big ship was to sell her cargo of dried cod in Spain. But instead of putting into Bilboa, the master, as war was about to break out with France, made for an English port, where Lent not being observed, her cargo of cod was sacrificed. The pinass, with her valuable cargo of cod and furs was towed by the large ship into the English Channel, and when thought to be entirely safe, cast off almost within sight of Plymouth. But before they could make harbour they fell a prey to a "Turks man of warr, and carried into Saly, wher ye Master and men were made slaves, and many of ye beaver skins were sould for 4 pence a peece. Thus was all their hops dasht, and the joyfull news they ment to cary home turned to heavie tidings. Some thought this a hand of God for their too great exaction of ye poore plantation, but Gods judgments are unseerchable, neither dare I be bould therwith."²

Captain Miles Standish was a passenger on the big ship, commissioned to plead for easier terms of payment, if more merchandise were to be shipped, or for a dissolution of the company, which it was unfair should be binding on the colonists while English partners were free to throw off their obligations at will. He arrived

¹ Bradford, p. 243.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

at an unpropitious moment, when war was threatening and the plague was ravaging the kingdom. He accomplished nothing, but "prepared a good way for ye composition that was afterwards made." One wonders what particular qualifications the fighting captain had for such a delicate diplomatic mission. He was made of good fighting stuff and was a picturesque figure, but according to Hubbard he was not a strict Puritan and was hardly fitted to be a conciliatory diplomat. He says of him, when describing the quarrel between New Plymouth and Mr. Hewes over a fishing stage at Cape Anne, in which Miles Standish did not figure as a peacemaker: "Captain Standish had been bred a soldier in the low countries and never entered the school of our Saviour, Christ, or of John Baptist his harbinger; or if he was ever there, had forgot his first lesson—to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contest for the coat,—though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired: so was the Plymouth captain, a man of a very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper."¹

At this stage of the negotiations harmony was disturbed by the advent of a minister, a certain Mr. Lyford, whose collusion with the discontented in the colony and correspondence with a clique of dissatisfied shareholders in England, weakened the already loosened ties of interest and sympathy which bound so feebly the two groups of adventurers, separated by wider influences than the full breadth of the cold and stormy North Atlantic.

Miles Standish having failed as a commercial negotiator, a better man for the task was selected in Mr. Allerton, who was sent to England to renew with the

¹ Young's *Chronicles of the First Plantations*, p. 33.

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English shareholders the negotiations looking to a purchase of the English interests. He returned in the spring of 1627 with the draft of an agreement which was acceptable to the colonists. The English partners offered to make sale of "all and every ye stocks, shares, lands, merchandise and chatels, whatsoever" for the sum of £1,800 sterling. This was to be paid "at ye place appoynted for ye receipts of money, on the west side of ye Royall Exchaing in London, by 200 pounds yearly, and every year, on ye feast of St. Migchell, the first painment to be made ano. 1628, etc. Also ye saide Isaack is to indeavor to procure & obtaine from ye planters of N. P. aforesaid, securtie, by severall obligations, or writings obligatory, to make painment of ye said sume of 1800 pounds in forme aforesaid, according to ye true meaning of these presents. In testimonie whereof to this part of these presents remaining with ye said Isaack Allerton, ye said subscribing adven. have sett to their names, etc."¹

"This agreemente was very well liked of & approved of by all ye plantation, and consented unto; though they knew not well how to raise ye payment, and discharge their other ingagements, and supply the yearly wants of ye plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high intrests. Yet they undertooke it, and 7 or 8 of ye cheefe of ye place became joynly bound for ye painmente of this 1800 pounds(in ye behalfe of ye rest) at ye severall days. In which they rane a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavie burthens allready upon them, and all things in an uncertaine condition amongst them. So ye next returne it was absolutely confirmed on both sids and ye bargen fairly ingrossed in partchmente and in many things put into

¹ Bradford, p. 255-256.

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better forme, by ye advice of ye learnedest counsell they could gett; and least any forfeiture should fall on ye whole for none paimente at any of ye days, it rane thus: to forfite 30 shillings a week if they missed ye time; and was concluded under their hands & seals, as may be seen at large by ye deed it selfe." ¹

But now that joint ownership was to be abolished, though at a cost which may well have seemed exorbitant to the few poor colonists, the question became imminent to whom the land should be distributed, and on what terms. It was decided therefore to allow "heads of families and single yonge men that were of ability and free" into the partnership by purchase, for there were already "untoward persons mixed among them from the first."

"So they caled ye company togeather, and conferred with them, and came to this conclusion, that ye trade should be managed as before, to help pay the debts; and all such persons as were above named should be reputed and inrouled for purchsers; single free men to have a single share, and every father of a familie to be alowed to purchase so many shares as he had persons in his family; that is to say, one for him selfe, and one for his wife, and for every child that he had living with him, one. As for servants, they had none, but what either their maisters should give them out of theirs, or their deservings should obtaine from ye company afterwards. Thus all were to be cast into single shares according to the order abovesaid; and so every one was to pay his part according to his proportion towards ye purchass, & all other debts, what ye profite of ye trade would not reach too; viz. a single man for a single share, a maister of a famalie for so many as he had. This gave all good contente. And first accordingly

¹ Bradford, p. 257.

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the few catle which they had were devided, which arose to this proportion; a cowe to 6. persons or shars, & 2 goats to ye same, which were first equalised for age & goodness, and then lotted for; single persons consorting with others, as they thought good, & smaler familys likwise; and swine though more in number, yet by ye same rule. Then they agreed that every person or share should have 20. acres of land devided unto them, besids ye single acres they had allready; and they appoynted were to begin first on ye one side of ye towne, & how farr to goe; and then on ye other side in like manner; and so to devide it by lotte; and appointed sundrie by name to doe it, and tyed them to certain ruls to proceed by; as that they should only lay out settale or tillable land, at least such of it as should butt on ye water side, (as ye most they were to lay out did.) and pass by ye rest as refuse and comune; and what they judged fitte shold be so taken. And they were first to agree of ye goodnes & fitnes of it before the lott was drawne, and so it might as well prove some of ther owne, as an other mans; and this course they were to hould throwout. But yet seekeing to keepe ye people togither, as much as might be, they also agreed upon this order, by mutuall consente, before any lots were cast: that whose lotts soever should fall next ye towne, or most conveniente for nearnes, they should take to them a neigbour or tow, whom they best liked; and should suffer them to plant corne with them for 4. years; and afterwards they might use as much of theirs for as long time, if they would. Allso every share or 20. acers was to be laid out 5. acers in breadth by ye water side, and 4. acers in lenght, excepting nooks & corners, which were to be measured as they would bear to best advantage. But no meadows were to be laid out at all, nor were not for many years after, because

they were but streight of meadow grounds; and if they had bene now given out, it would have hindred all addition to them afterwards; but every season all were appoynted wher they should mowe, according to ye proportion of catle they had. This distribution gave generally good contente, and settled mens minds. Also they gave ye Govr & 4. or 5. of ye spetiall men amongst them, ye houses they lived in; ye rest were valued & equalised at an indifferent rate, and so every man kept his owne, and he that had a better alowed some theing to him that had a worse, as ye valuation wente."¹

Thus were severed the original intimate partnerships in business between the old country merchants and the new country adventurers. The elements of cleavage which from the first manifested themselves in political as well as in mercantile transactions, were too strong to be resisted. And then came also to an end the joint ownership and joint participation in profits or losses, which was in fact incidental to the joint ownership of the partners in the stock of the mercantile company. The experience of these colonial communities agrees with that of the socialistic communities of our own day. If money is an element in their organization they sooner or later break down under the stress of wealth or of poverty.

The international company having been dissolved and the colonial company formed with a capital of £1800, paid for with borrowed money, at interest, the managers of the colonial company found themselves helpless to manage a commercial enterprise without correspondents better versed in business methods than themselves; and therefore, unwise as the move proved to be, they may have been compelled to re-enter into commercial relations with some of their old London

¹ Bradford, pp. 258-261.

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associates. Whether these transactions involved them in pecuniary loss is not clear from the evidence, but they certainly entangled them in trouble and harassing vexation of spirit. Fishing it was expected would be one of the main sources of revenue, but the colonists could not cultivate the land, build themselves houses, and at the same time catch and cure the cod at a distance from the shore, even if they had been provided with bait and tackle. Attempt after attempt was made prior to the foundation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony by their old partner, Weston, and others to found fishing communities in the bay or at Cape Ann; but they all failed. Fishing folk are not built from the stuff out of which industrious tillers of the soil and sedentary law-abiding citizens are made. The Pilgrims had not been successful in their fishing ventures, and therefore, "having now no fishing business or other things to intend, but only ther trading and planting, they set themselves to follow the same with ye best industrie they could." For a time the Governor and such as were designated to manage the trade (for it was retained "for ye general good and none were to trade in particuler") followed it to the best of their knowledge and ability. And certainly the eagerness and energy with which the Pilgrims engaged in business points the direction towards which the instincts of the colonists were leading them.

The partners, however, who had assumed the debt of £1800, apparently made claims which interfered with the disposal of public lands; and therefore in 1638, when the population had grown and something like land monopoly was threatening, the partners were paid £300 apiece and the first choice of "two or three places" for a surrender to the colony of their rights, whatever they might be.

Reviewing the early history of Plymouth Colony, it is clear that it was not a scene of uniform and consistent piety and contentment, any more than of business success. The quarrel with the London partners was the inevitable result of the financial disappointment which overtook the money-making enterprise. The resources of the colony were meagre. "God," according to Morton, "made way for his people by removing the heathen." "The Lord also so disposed much to waste them by a great mortality," * some two or three years before they landed, whereby they were saved from the hands of the Indians; but there were consequently few hunters of fur-bearing animals who would accept a few trifling baubles for valuable peltries. The Indians in the neighbourhood of Manhattan had learned the value of beaver skins, and the Dutch were paying full price for them. But the colonists had better luck when trading with the Indians on the Kennebec River. Bradford tells us (p. 246): "After harvest this year (1625), they sende out a boats load of corne 40. or 50. leagues to ye eastward, up a river called Kenibec; it being one of those 2 shalops which their carpenter had built them ye year before; for bigger vessel had they none. They had laid a little deck over her midships to keepe ye corne drie, but ye men were faine to stand it out all weather without shelter; and yt time of ye year begins to growe temptestious. But God preserved them and gave them good success, for they brought home 700 pounds of beaver, besides some other furrs, having little or nothing els but this corne, which themselves had raised out of ye earth. This viage was made by Mr. Winslow & some of ye old standards, for seamen they had none."

After the dissolution of the partnership and while

* *New England Memorial*, edition of 1855, p. 37.

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adjusting themselves to independence in trade, the colonists bought some goods from an unsuccessful Plymouth merchant at Monhegan, and used them in trading with the Indians; but their surplus corn continued to be their chief article of barter. It was not till 1628 that they learned from the Dutch the value of wampum as the nearest approach to a convertible currency, in dealing with the Indians. On this occasion Secretary Rasier himself came from New Amsterdam, "accompanied with a noyse of trumpeters, and brought with him diverse commodities for sale, such as sugar, linen stuff," etc., but that which turned most to their profit was "an entrance into the trade of Wampampeake; for they now bought aboute 50 pounds worth of it of them; and they tould them how vendable it was at their forte Orania, and did perswade them they would find it so at Kenebeck; and so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck, & it was 2. years before they could put of this small quantity, till ye inland people knew of it, and afterwards they could scarce ever gett enough for them, for many years togeather. And so this, with thier other provissons, cutt of they trade quite from ye fisher-men, and in great part from other of ye stragling planters."¹

The urgent necessity was to secure the means of meeting the heavy liabilities they had assumed. Mr. Allerton, who evidently possessed the qualifications of a promoter, undertook to act as a broker. In 1627 he returned to England to conclude the former bargain with the adventurers, and he took the necessary bonds to secure the payment of the money. But he was further commissioned to propose a scheme, which, judging from his subsequent erratic conduct, probably originated with himself, but was heartily entertained

¹ Bradford, p. 281.

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by the Governor, by Miles Standish, William Brewster (the elder), and Edward Winslow. Governor Bradford thus describes it:

"Before they sent Mr. Allerton away for England this year, ye Gover and some of their cheefe freinds had serious consideration, not only how they might discharge those great engagements which lay so heavily upon them, as is affore mentioned, but also how they might (if possible they could) devise means to help some of their freinds and breethren of Leyden over unto them, who desired so much to come to them, ad they desired as much their company. To effecte which, they resolved to rune a high course, and of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it aboute. Which was to hire ye trade of ye company for certaine years, and in that time to undertake to pay that 1800 pounds, and all ye rest of ye debts that then lay upon ye plantation, which was aboute some 600 pounds more; and so to set them free, and returne the trade to ye generalitie againe at ye end of ye terme. Upon which resolution they called ye company togeither, and made it clearly appear unto all what their debts were, and upon what terms they would undertake to pay them all in such a time, and sett them clear. But their other ends thy were faine to keepe secrete, haveing only privatly acquaynted some of their trusty freinds therewith; which were glad of ye same, but doubted how they would be able to performe it. So after some agitation of the thing with ye company, it was yeelded unto, and the agreemente made upon ye conditions following:

"Articles of agreement betweene ye collony of New Plimoth of ye one partie, and William Bradford, Captein Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, &c., one ye other partie; and shuch others as they shall thinke good to take as partners and undertakers with them,

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concerning the trade for beaver & other furrs & commodities, &c.; made July, 1627.

"First, it is agreed and covenanted betweexte ye said parties, that ye afforsaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, & Isaack Allerton, &c., have undertaken, and doe by these presents, covenantte and agree to pay, discharge, and acquite ye said colony of all ye debttes both due for ye purchass, or any other belonging to them, at ye day of ye date of these presents.

"Secondly, ye above-said parties are to have and freely injoye ye pinass latly builte, the boat at Manamett, and ye shalop, called ye Bass-boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in ye store of ye said company; with all ye whole stock of furrs, fells, beads, corne, wampampeak, hatchets, knives, &c., that is now in ye storre, or any way due unto ye same upon accownte.

"3rd. That ye above said parties have ye whole trade to them selves, their heires and assignes, with all ye privileges thereof, as ye said collonie doth now, or may use the same, for 6. full years, to beginye last of September next insuing.

"4th. In furder consideration of ye discharge of ye said debttes, every severall purchaser doth promise and covenantte yearly to pay, or cause to be payed, to the above said parties, during ye full terme of ye said 6 years, 3. bushells of curne, or 6 pounds of tobaco, at ye undertakers choyse.

"5th. The said undertakers shall dureing ye afforesaid terme bestow 50 pounds per annum, in hose and shoese, to be brought over for ye collonies use, to be soold unto them for corne at 6 shillings per bushell.

"6th. That at ye end of ye said terme of 6 years, the whole trade shall returne to ye use and benefite of ye said collonie, as before.

"Lastly, if ye afforesaid undertakers, after they have acquainted their freinds in England with these covenants, doe (upon ye first returne) resolve to performe them, and undertake to discharge ye debtes of ye said collony, according to ye true meaning & intente of these presents, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in full force; otherwise all things to remaine as formerly they were, and a true accounte to be given to ye said collonie, of the disposing of all things according to the former order."¹

A formal agreement on these terms was made between the colonial company and such of the colonists as being free men and trusty had assumed a share of the old debt. The company released the colonists from all debts, but the agreement was to be void unless their friends in England agreed to release the colonists. Allerton had no difficulty, not only in securing their consent, but in enlisting his English friends in the enterprise, and obtaining their promise to assist some of their indigent co-religionists in Leyden to join the Colony.

J. W. Sherley assures his New Plymouth partners of his readiness to join them in a business which had been able to pay 30 to 50 per cent on advances. He even offers to "forbear his 50 per cent and two years' increase, both which now makes it eighty per cent." A certain Mr. Andrews likewise consents and agrees to become their English agent, but insists that Mr. Beachamp be associated with him.

The partnership thus cemented was not dissolved till 1641, when a compromise was reached, the terms of which express but feebly the cause of friction which had tried, during all the intervening years, the temper of

¹ Bradford, pp. 271-274.

the partners, though they were saints. Probably they were victims not of roguery but of bad business management and incompetency, aggravated rather than relieved by the enthusiasm of Allerton. The deed of dissolution narrates that large sums of money and goods were adventured¹ and "many large returnes made from New England by ye said William Bradford," etc., and difficulties arise about "ye charge of 2. ships" for the purchase of which the Plymouth partners denied any responsibility. One of them, after being sailed at a loss by the partners, was chartered by Allerton, who never paid his debts. The unfortunate ship was finally run aground on the Virginia coast.

When the accounts of the partners had to be wound up, they were found to be in hopeless confusion and "could not orderly appear." A Mr. John Atwood was then empowered to act as mediator "to put an absolute end to ye said partnership" after examination of stocks of goods and such assets as there were. He decided that the assets of the company were worth £1400, and this the Plymouth partners agreed to pay. On the dissolution of the partnership and the expiry of the concession, given to the company by the Colony, Bradford, acting for himself and his partners, resigned their rights and privileges.²

As soon, however, as free trade was permitted, competition began to be felt. The price demanded by the Indians for their skins rose and the excessive quantity shipped apparently depressed the value in Europe, for we find Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts in 1642 writing to the Governor of Plymouth: "Another thing I should mention to you for ye maintenance of ye trad of beaver; if ther be not a company to order it in every jurisdiction among ye English, which companies

¹ Bradford, p. 453.

² *Ibid.*, p. 445.

should agree in generall of their way in trade, I suppose that ye trade will be overthrowne, and ye Indeans will abuse us. For this cause we have latly put it into order amongst us, hoping of incouragemente from you (as we have had) yt we may continue ye same. Thus not further to trouble you, I rest, with my loving remembrance to your selfe."¹ Whether the trust was formed and on what terms Bradford does not tell.

During the time of the partnership no accurate accounts were kept, but sundry statements are made as to the annual shipments of peltries and their value. In 1633 there were shipped 3366 pounds of beaver skins, much of which is billed as coat beaver, worth twenty shillings per pound, and 346 other skins. The value of the shipment of furs must therefore have exceeded \$16,000; and the shipment of beaver for 1634 exceeded that of the previous year. The company carried their trading operations far afield in collecting this amount of furs. As early as 1627 they applied for and obtained a patent securing to themselves the exclusive trade of the Kennebec. They built a post up the river, and were not interfered with till 1634, when a trader called Hocking, supported by influential men in England, insisted on invading their territory and infringing on their rights, with the result of a resort to arms and the death of two men. The post on the Kennebec was not, however, abandoned till 1638,² when "the old partners (having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them any more goods) broke of their trade at Kenebeck." But in truth, judging by a statement of shipments given by Mr. Bradford, the trade had dwindled since 1634 to unprofitable figures. The statement gives as shipments:³

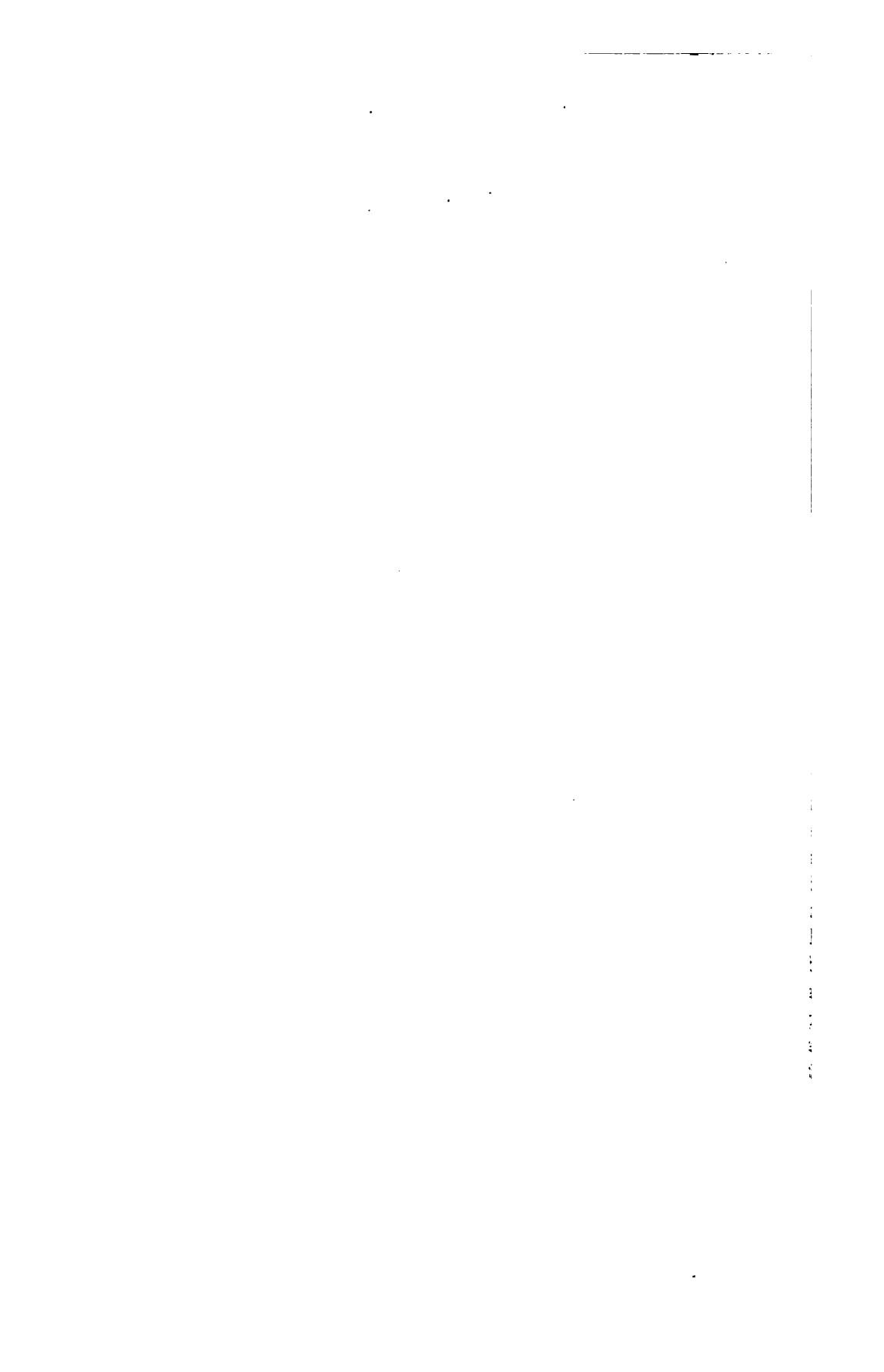
¹ Bradford, pp. 461-462.

² *Ibid.*, p. 436.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

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Nov. 18, Ano. 1631	By Mr. Peirce	0400 lb. waight of beaver & otters	20.
July 13	Ano. 1632	By Mr. Griffin	1348 " beaver, & otters
	Ano. 1633	By Mr. Graves	3366 " bever, & otters
	Ano. 1634	By Mr. Andrews	3738 " beaver & otters
	Ano. 1635	By Mr. Babb	1150 " beaver, & otters
June 24	Ano. 1636	By Mr. Wilkinson	1809 " beaver, & otters
	Ibidem.	By Mr. Largrume	0719 " beaver, & otters
			<hr/>
		12150 lbs. ¹	1156.

The value of the shipments is not given, but Bradford says: "All these sumes were safly received & well sould, as appears by leters. The coat beaver usually at 20^s pr pound, and some at 24^s; the skin at 15. & sometimes 16. I doe not remember any under 14."² The company's affairs were certainly conducted on most loose methods, but the principal defects seem to have been where one would have looked for the strictest accuracy—in London. One result must inevitably have followed. The treatment which the colonists received from their English partners, who in smooth and long words insisted on the payment of a debt for which they could show neither statement nor voucher, created a deep distrust of the ways of their fellow-countrymen across the sea and of their sincerity, even though they were as careful to use religious terms as they were careless in keeping their accounts. Mr. Sherley, their agent, wrote in 1635: "Your leter of ye 22. of July, 1634, by your trustie and our loving friend Mr. Winslow, I have received, and your larg parcell of beaver and otter skines. Blessed be our God, both he and it came safly to us, and we have sould it in two parcells; ye skin at 14 s. lb. and some at 16.; ye coate at 20s. ye pound. The accounts I have not sent you them this year."³

As it was, though the colonists had escaped perse-

¹ Not correctly cast; it should be 12,530 lbs.

² Bradford, p. 413.

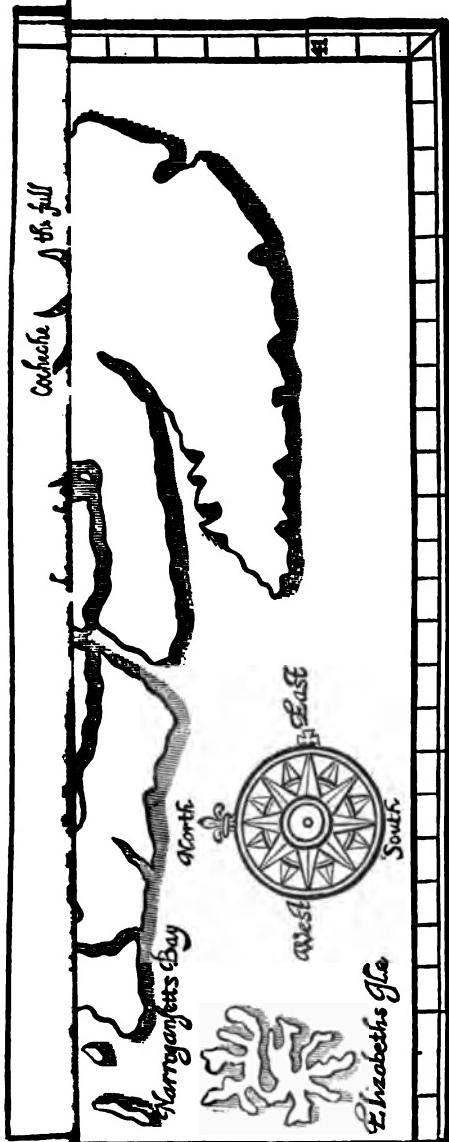
³ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

cution, the agent of the commercial company in England came under the displeasure of Archbishop Laud, who was one of the Lords Commissioners for the Plantation in America. The Archbishop took advantage of Winslow's presence before the commission in the investigation of the Colony's dispute with Morton of Merry-Mount, to question him as to his "teaching in ye church publickly," and marrying as a civil magistrate—both which charges Winslow admitted, and for these offences against ecclesiastical law he was imprisoned in the fleet for seventeen weeks.¹

Some of the Plymouth colonists who had been by Providence and the unskilfulness of the captain of the *Mayflower* planted on one of the most unpropitious and barren spots of the whole New England shore, naturally went in search of a more fertile dwelling place. It was the Dutch trader in 1633,² who, "seeing their settlement in a barren quarter," told them of a river called the "Conightecutt River," which they often commended unto them for a fine place, both for plantation and trade. "But their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass." But ere long some Indians, fleeing from the Pequots, described the charms of the valley so enticingly that after receiving the refusal from the authorities of the Bay to join in establishing a trading post on the river, the Plymouth men decided to undertake the enterprise alone. They loaded a bark with the first sectional house ever constructed in America and made sail for the Connecticut. When they reached its mouth they found the Dutch had preceded them and

¹ Bradford, p. 392.

² The Pilgrims had been thirteen years within one hundred miles of the Connecticut River before knowing of its existence. Champlain, on the other hand, had reached Lake Huron and crossed Lake Ontario seven years after founding Quebec, and the Recollets founded a mission on Lake Huron, a thousand miles from Quebec, the year of their landing.



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"The South part of New England, as it is Planted the yeare 1634."

From *New England's Prospect*, by William Wood.

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had erected a small fort, on which two small cannon were mounted. But the threat to bar their passage did not extend beyond a threat; and the first English settlement on the river was made near Dorchester, after purchase of the land from the Indians. It was a delightful spot, and though trade with the Indians was poor, as the unfortunate savages had been almost swept away by an epidemic of smallpox, the land was so rich that within two years "some of their neighbours at ye Bay, hearing of ye fame of Conighticute River, had a hankering mind after it," and they did what strong sinners as well as strong saints too often did—exercised the prerogatives of numbers and strength. The correspondence which ensued is interesting as an example of the different interpretations put upon "God's ways to man" by even coreligionists. The Massachusetts authorities write: "Brethren, having latly sent 2. of our body unto you, to agitate & bring to an issue some maters in difference betweene us, about some lands at Conightecutt, unto which you lay challeng; upon which God by his providence cast us, and as we conceive in a faire way of providence tendered it to us, as a meete place to receive our body, now upon removall";¹ to which the Plymouth authorities replied: "We shall not need to answer all ye passages of your larg letter, &c. But whereas you say God in his providence cast you, &c., we tould you before, and (upon this occasion) must now tell you still, that our mind is other wise, and yt you cast rather a partiall, if not a covetous eye, upon that which is your neighbours, and not yours; and in so doing, your way could not be faire unto it. Looke yt you abuse not God's providence in such allegations."²

The end of the matter is told shortly by Bradford:

¹ Bradford, p. 405.

² *Ibid.* p. 405.

"But least I should be teadious, I will forbear other things, and come to the conclusion that was made in ye endd. To make any forcible resistance was farr from their thoughts, (they had enough of yt about Kenebeck,) and to live in continuall contention with their freinds & brethren would be uncomfortable, and too heavie a burden to bear. Therfore for peace sake (though they conceived they suffered much in this thing) they thought it better to let them have it upon as good termes as they could gett; and so they fell to treaty."¹

The terms of settlement do not interest us, but the controversy itself does, by reason of the eagerness and vigour with which it was conducted and then the reasonableness and good temper with which a compromise was reached and lived up to. The incident illustrates the combination in the character and training of the colonists of manliness, tempered by Christian forbearance.

Few, however, of the colonists cared to go so far in search of better homes; and therefore before the Colony had reached its twentieth year, the towns of Scituate, Cohannet (Taunton), Duxborow, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, and Marshfield² had branched off from the parent town of Plymouth, and "thus was this poore church left, like an anciente mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yett in regarde of their bodily presence and personall helpfulness. Her anciente members being most of them worne away by death; and these of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made so many rich become her selfe poore."³

¹ Bradford, p. 407.

² *Plymouth Laws*, p. 62.

³ Bradford, pp. 508-509.

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But expansion was not effected without friction. The town of Scituate, on the Plymouth border, was continuous with that of Hingham on the Massachusetts side of an indefinite line, defined as the river Charles. The Charles branched, and the question was which was the main stream and which the branch. It took two years of correspondence and official conference, and at last of friendly arbitration by commissioners, to settle this question of boundary and the individual damages.

In this dispute less feeling was engendered than sprung from a difference of policy between the neighbouring colonies of Plymouth and the Bay over French infringement of Plymouth territory at Penobscot.¹ It seems that in 1631 Allerton, the company's agent, set up a trading house beyond Penobscot. This post naturally attracted the attention of the French, between whom and the English there had been strife concerning this part of Maine ever since Argall in 1613 had swooped down on La Saussaye and his colony in Frenchman's Bay. The French claimed the territory under the concessions from Henry IV to de Monts of all the territory between 40° and 46° north latitude, while the English held, under the charter of James I to the Virginia Company, all of the seaboard to the 45th degree of north latitude. The Penobscot was therefore within the disputed limits, and in 1631, while the company's agent was absent, a French vessel, commanded, it would appear, by the Elder La Tour, sailed into the harbour, entered within the reservation, appropriated some 400 to 500 pounds worth of furs, leaving behind with the powerless guardian kind messages to the agent. Four years later M. de Aulney entered the harbour and compelled the agent, Mr. Willett, to sell him their whole stock of furs, assuring him most politely that when he

¹ Bradford, pp. 395-401.

called at Port Royal for the amount it would be paid. He would not even estimate the value of the house and immovables, as "they which build on another man's ground doe forfeit ye same," but he humanely provided the English with a shallop and provisions and sent them to New Plymouth "with a great deale of complement and many fine words."¹

There was great indignation in New Plymouth, and the men of Massachusetts Bay shared in the indignation, but were not willing to share in the expense of avenging the insult. But the authorities of Plymouth found a certain Captain Girling, who commanded a well-armed ship of 300 tons. He undertook to drive the French out for 700 pounds of beaver skins, and the valiant Captain Standish and twenty men accompanied him in the bark, which carried also the 700 pounds of beaver skins, wherewith to pay Captain Girling when he had fulfilled his warlike commission. But, contrary to Standish's advice, this naval mercenary fired off nearly all his ammunition while still out of range of the French fortifications, and retreated. The incident is curiously illustrative of the strong commercial spirit which possessed the colonists, and of their independence of the mother country. They were not cowards, but if they could recover their property and be revenged on their enemies by contracting with a freebooter to do the job for a definite sum, to be paid only when value had been received, it were better so to do than to risk an indefinite amount as well as endanger their own lives. On Miles Standish's return a further appeal was made to the Bay to assist in ousting the French, who were now likely to fortify themselves more strongly, and likely to "become ill neighbours to ye English." Again the Bay responded with sympathetic words and willing-

¹ Bradford, p. 396.

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ness to negotiate. But this negotiation ended with an offer of men but refusal of money, and a letter which closes by wishing them all good success in the Lord.

Bradford in sorrow tells the sequel: "This thing did not only thus break of, but some of their merchants shortly after sent to trad with them, and furnished them both with provissions, & poweder & shott; and so have continued to doe till this day, as they have seen opportunitie for their profite. So as in truth ye English them selves have been the cheefest supporters of these French; for besids these, the plantation at Pemaquid (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what ye wante, but gives them continual intelligence of all things that passes among ye English, (espetially some of them) so as it is no marvell that they still grow, & incroach more & more upon ye English, and fill ye Indeans with gunes & munishtion, to ye great deanger of ye English, who lye open & unfortified, living upon husbandrie, and ye other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie."¹

These encroachments of the French on the north, and the Dutch on the south, and the threatenings of the Indians, led to the Confederation, and the formation of a league of friendship and amity for offence and defence in 1643 of the plantations under the governments of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. The consideration was made without consulting with or asking the consent of the home government.

Despite, however, their losses, this the poorest of the plantations prospered; though even then there were good times and bad, and periods of depression followed by periods of abnormal prosperity, when the decline

¹ Bradford, pp. 400-401.

or rise in prices of their scanty livestock was as exciting as the ebb and flow of millions during a financial hurricane in Wall Street. Bradford tells us: "Though ye partners were thus plused into great ingaments, & oppresed with unjust debts, yet ye Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returnes, and had soone wound them selves out of all, if yet they had otherwise been well delt with all; as will more appear here after. Also ye people of ye plantation begane to grow in their outward estats, by reason of ye flowing of many people into ye cuntrie, espetially into ye Bay of ye Massachusetts; by which means corne & catle rose to a great prise, by wch many were much inriched, and comodities grue plentiful; and yet in other regards this benefite turned to their hurte, and this accession of strength to their weaknes. For now as their stocks increased, and ye increase vendible, ther was no longer any holding them togeather, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not other wise keep their katile; and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing & tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had catle and a great deale of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scattered all over ye bay, quickly, and ye towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time allmost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, thoug to much; but ye church must also be devided, and those yt had lived so long togeather in Christian & comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisisons."¹ And some years later in 1638: "It pleased God, in these times, so to blesse ye cuntry with such access & confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much inriched, and catle of all

¹ Bradford, pp. 361-362.

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kinds stood at a high rate for diverse years together. Kine were soold at 20 lb. and some at 25 lb. a peece, yea, some times at 28 lb. A cow-calf usually at 10 lb. A milch goate at 3 lb. & some at 4 lb. And femall kids at 30 shillings, and often at 40 shillings a peece. By which means ye anciente planters which had any stock begane to grow in their estats. Corne also wente at a round rate, viz. 6 shillings a bushell. So as other trading begane to be neglected; and the old partners (having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them any more goods) broke of their trade at Kenebeck, and, as things stood, would follow it no longer. But some of them, (with other they joyned with,) being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with ye company for it, and gave them aboute ye 6. parte of their gaines for it; with ye first fruits of which they builte a house for a prison; and the trade ther hath been since continued, to ye great benefite of ye place; for some well fore-sawe that these high prises of corne and catle would not long continue, and that then ye comodities ther raised would be much missed.”¹

The boom—to use a modern term—lasted only three years, for in 1641 this judicious and astute business man, adds, describing some negotiations leading up to the settlement of the old company: “But in regard of ye troubles that now begane to arise in our owne nation, and other reasons, this did not come to any effecte. That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end was partly to stope ye clamours and aspertions raised & cast upon them hereabout; though they conceived themselves to sustaine the greatest wrong, and had most cause of complainte; and partly because they feared ye fall of catle, in which most part of their estats lay. And this was not a vaine feare; for they fell

¹ Bradford, pp. 436–437.

indeede before they came to a conclusion, and that so souddanly, as a cowe that but a month before was worth 20 pounds, and would so have passed in any paymente, fell now to 5 pounds and would yeeld no more; and a goate that went at 3 pounds or 50 shillings, would now yeeld but 8. or 10 shillings at most. All men feared a fall of catle, but it was thought it would be by degrees; and not to be from ye highest pitch at once to ye lowest, as it did, which was greatly to ye damage of many, and ye undoing of some."¹

To live up to the highest principles of the Christian rule and yet make money has never been easy, and therefore there then were discontented brethren in the church who could not reconcile as right even such slight deviations from the rigid discipline of an organised church as the exigencies of colonial life forced on the saints. Some of these wrote libellous letters to their friends in England and Holland; others returned to England and spread false impressions of the religious and social state of the Colony, and compelled the Governor to categorically and succinctly contradict or explain away their accusations.² Such writers as Parson Lyford and his ally, Mr. Oldham, were condemned from their own letters, which the worthy Governor, in virtue of his office, considered himself justified in seizing on the ship which was to carry them to England. From the minute details with which their misdeeds and false reports are narrated by Bradford, we judge the Puritans must have been peculiarly sensitive to criticism.

The *Journal* ends with the year 1646, but the last entry of importance describes the danger threatening the Colony from the unrest among the Indian tribes which had led to the Confederation. From that date Plymouth lost its individuality, though it continued

¹ Bradford, pp. 448-449.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

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to exist as a political unit till its absorption into the province of Massachusetts Bay under the new charter of William and Mary in 1692.

Bradford was growing old, but he continued to serve the colony for eleven years after he ceased to make an entry in his Journal.

John A. Doyle, in his introduction to the facsimile reproduction of the *History of the Plimoth Plantation*, justly delineates the characteristics of the Journals of Bradford and Winthrop and the characters of the men themselves:

"One can perhaps best estimate Bradford by comparing him with the other great chronicler of Puritan New England, John Winthrop. That comparison has been lately worked out by one of the ablest critics who have dealt with the materials for early American history (Professor Jamieson, *History of Historical Writings in America*). 'The two governors and historians,' he says, 'were in some degree typical of the two colonies whose history they helped to make and to write. The Separatist Colony and the Puritan Colony were widely different. The history of the Pilgrim Fathers is full of suffering, of poverty, of humility, of patience, and of mildness. It is the story of a small and feeble enterprise glorified by faith and hope and charity, but necessarily and always limited by the slender resources of the poor and humble men who originated it. The founding of the Bay Colony, on the other hand, was less a colonial enterprise than a great Puritan emigration. It was organised by men of substance and standing, supported by the wealth of a great and prosperous body of the English nation, and consciously directed toward the high end of founding a Puritan state. And as Massachusetts was to Plymouth Plantation, so in many respects was Governor John

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Winthrop to Governor William Bradford. He was a man of broader, larger, more philosophic intellect, as well as of a more regular and extensive education. In short, he had more thoroughly those powers and acquisitions of mind which would fit one to direct worthily the larger concerns of a strong and important state, and to describe worthily its origin and early development.'

"The contrast is, as far as the two colonies are concerned, just; as far as the individual men are concerned, it is in a measure just, but not wholly so. Whatever may have been the natural powers of the two men, it is no doubt true that Winthrop had 'a more regular and extensive education.' Whether he brought to bear on the problems of administration a clearer perception of individual character may be doubted. He certainly brought to bear a far wider historical training, and as a consequence a far more extended knowledge of political machinery, and a clearer conception of the ends of government and of the general principles by which rulers and political societies should be guided. Bradford in these matters was *abnormis sapiens*. But when one considers the men, not as administrators, but as writers, the superiority is much less obvious and assured. There is nothing in Winthrop like that Bunyan-like perfection of simple art wherewith Bradford describes the flight to Holland, and the sojourn of the exiles there. There is not the same picturesque felicity in sketching an incident or a character. One feels, too, that with all Winthrop's patriotic love for his community which he has helped to build up, he was not sustained throughout by the strong sense of literary responsibility which animates and controls Bradford. Winthrop's work is not merely in form but in reality a chronicle wherein the events of the year are recorded

as they happen, with occasionally appropriate comments. It is the diary of a man in public life which grows into a history. Bradford, one can see, set forth at the outset with the clear, defined purpose of telling a story. There is nothing to show precisely how Bradford's History was written, how far it was a chronicle, composed as events went on, and how far a connected composition. But there are passages which prove that at the very least it underwent very full revision. Thus at page 180 Bradford says, 'as will appear if God give life to print this history.' And the whole tone of the earlier part of the History suggests that the struggles and difficulties of the opening years were told in the light of the success with which they were to be crowned.

"On one most important point both Winthrop and Bradford contrast favourably with almost all New England writers, whether of their own or of a later generation. They steer wholly clear of the tendency to turn history into a hagiology. That this should be so is not so surprising in a man of Winthrop's wide experience and worldly knowledge as it is in the member of a little separate community cut off from the rest of the world, and justly proud of the great success which it had achieved unaided. Later New England writers peopled their country from the outset with political sages, with profound and learned theologians, with inspired orators. Bradford's clear judgment, guided by an underlying but unfailing sense of humour, never suffered him to see his contemporaries in any but their true proportions.

"One may, indeed, extend his praises further, and credit Bradford with having even more completely than Winthrop defied the less wholesome influences of the atmosphere wherein he lived. It was, indeed,

most fortunate that the two New England historians were neither of them, by temper or habit of mind, dogmatic theologians. But the resistance to the prevailing tendency was far more effective and more complete in the case of Bradford than in that of Winthrop. Winthrop, though no dogmatist himself, was more than once compelled to give effect to the views of those to whom dogma was everything. He admits that to him and, as he believes, to most other people, the distinction between the orthodox and the antinomians is unmeaning if not imperceptible. Yet he assents to the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers. So, too, in reading his History we feel that the question of speculative orthodoxy was forced into a prominence to which there was no real response in the writer's inmost feelings. That is not so with Bradford. Formally and technically, no doubt, he was a dogmatist. And no doubt he would not merely have admitted, but eagerly asserted the necessity of dogma as a basis for ecclesiastical unity, and the value of it as an educational influence. But his interest in human life and his clear perception of individual character would never have suffered him to classify men according to their creeds, or to forget that the man is one thing, his formal expressions of opinions another.

"To say this is assuredly not to deny that Bradford's work was in a great measure typical of that mass of opinions and feelings which we conveniently sum up under the name of Puritanism. Width of human sympathy saved him from the practical consequences of dogmatic Calvinism, whatever might be his formal creed. But his unity and tenacity of purpose, his confidence in the divine guidance, his ever present feeling that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, these assuredly were lessons which he had learnt in the

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school of Puritanism. The literature of Puritan New England, even in the days of fuller leisure and riper learning, produced nothing worthier than this, its first fruits."

CHAPTER IX

LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF A NATION, AS TOLD BY JOHN WINTHROP, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

THE diary from the pen of John Winthrop, the first elected Governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, describes from personal knowledge what happened to the first generation of the Puritan colonists. There are occasional gaps, filled up by recourse to memory. But nevertheless it gives a perfectly transparent and sincere view, not only of events, but of the thoughts and principles which guided the little group of men, who, with firm belief in their own judgment and uprightness, autocratically governed the Colony during the early years of its existence.

In *The Planter's Plea*,¹ printed in London in 1630, the year when the second instalment of emigrants under Winthrop sailed to reinforce the first under Endicott, the motives which moved the Massachusetts colonists, the methods they adopted, and some incidents occurring between the planting of the Plymouth and the Bay colonies are set forth by one who was evidently interested in the venture, though *not* as an emigrant. The combination of profit-making and God-serving is not disguised or even excused, for the author says: "We know nothing sorts better with piety than competency, a truth which Agur hath determined long ago (*Proverbs xxx., 8*)."² The history of the Colony's origin is

¹ *The Planter's Plea; or The Grounds of Plantation Examined and Usual Objections Answered.* London. Printed by William Jones, 1630.

then told. Referring to the Plymouth Colony as the forerunner of the Puritan, the author says: "About ten years since a company of English, part out of the low countries, and some out of London and other parts, associating themselves into one body, with an intention to plant in Virginia, in their passage thither, being taken short by the wind, in the depth of winter, the whole ground being under snow, were forced, with their provisions, to land themselves in New England upon a small bay beyond Massachusetts, in the place which they now inhabit and call by the name of New Plymouth. The ground being covered a foot thick with snow, and they being without shelter, and having amongst them divers women and children, no marvel if they lost some of their company; it may be wondered how they saved the rest. But, notwithstanding this sharp encounter at the first, and some miscarriages afterward, yet (conceiving God's providence had directed them unto that place, and finding great charge and difficulty in removing), they resolved to fix themselves there, and, being assisted by some of their friends in London, having passed over most of the greatest difficulties that usually encounter new planters, they began to subsist at length in a reasonably comfortable manner, being, notwithstanding, men but of mean and weak estates of themselves; and after a year's experience or two of the soil and inhabitants, sent home tidings of both, and of their well-being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place and to take it into consideration.

"About the year 1623, some western merchants (who had continued a trade of fishing for cod, and bartering for furs, in those parts for divers years before), conceiving that a colony planted on the coast might further them in those employments, bethought them-

selves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alleging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunity of their fishing-trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their ships, that (by the help of many hands) they might dispatch their voyage, and lade their ships with fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sailing company. Now it was conceived that, the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary sailors might be left behind with provisions for a year; and when that ship returned the next year, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former year; and, in the meantime, might employ themselves in building, and planting corn, which, with the provision of fish, fowl, and venison that the land yielded, would afford them the chief of their food. This proposition of theirs took so well, that it drew on divers persons to join with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not only their own fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victuals, which that colony might spare them in time, but withal, and more, by the benefit of their minister's labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas, otherwise, being usually upon those voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of instruction at all. Compassion towards the fishermen, and partly some expectation of gain, prevailed so far that for the planting of a colony in New England there was raised a stock of more than three thousand pounds, intended to be paid in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.

"How this stock was employed, and by what errors

and oversights it was wasted, is, I confess, not much pertinent to the subject in hand. Notwithstanding, because the knowledge thereof may be of use for other men's direction, let me crave leave in a short digression to present unto the reader's view the whole order of the managing of such moneys as were collected, with the success and issue of the business undertaken."

Then follows a detailed statement of the failure of the fishing ventures which led to the author's conclusion that "Two things withal may be intimated by the way. The first, that the very project itself of planting, by the help of a fishing voyage, can never answer the success that it seems to promise (which experienced fishermen easily have forseen beforehand, and by that means have prevented divers ensuing errors), whereof, amongst divers other reasons, these may serve for two: first, that no sure fishing place in the land is fit for planting, nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least near the shore; and secondly, rarely any fishermen will work at land; neither are husbandmen fit for fishermen, but with long use and experience. The second thing to be observed is, that nothing new fell out in the managing of this stock, seeing experience hath taught us that, as in building houses, the first stones of the foundation are buried under ground and are not seen, so in planting colonies, the first stocks employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to the work.

"But to return to our former subject, from which we digressed. Upon the manifestation of the western adventurers' resolution, to give all their work, most part of the landmen, being sent for, returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and to take charge of the cattle, sent over the year before, which they performed accordingly; and

not liking their seat at Cape Ann, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahumkeike, about four or five leagues distant to the southwest from Cape Ann.

"Some, then, of the adventurers that still continued their desire to set forwards the plantation of a colony there, conceiving that if some more cattle were sent over to those few men left behind, they might not only be a means of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the country, but of inviting some other of their friends and acquaintances to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve kine and bulls more, and conferring casually with some gentlemen of London, moved them to add unto them as many more. By which occasion the business came to agitation afresh in London, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar, insomuch that some men, showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses, if fit men might be procured to go over, enquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this enquiry it fell out that, among others, they lighted at last on Master Endicott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered, which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new colony upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons, having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable sum of money, a patent was granted, with large encouragements every way, by his most excellent majesty. Master Endicott was sent over governor assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in September, 1628, and uniting his own men with those which were

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formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons. His prosperous journey and safe arrival of himself and all his company, and good report which he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that, more adventurers joining with the first undertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the design, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more, most servants, with a convenient proportion of rother-beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy, or thereabout, and some mares and horses, of which the kine came safe for the most part, but the greater part of the horses died, so that there remained not above twelve or fourteen alive. By this time the often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of the kingdom, the good report of Captain Endicott's government, and the increase of the colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged, considering that they lived either without any useful employment at home, and might be more serviceable in assisting the planting of a colony in New England, took, at last, a resolution to unite themselves for the prosecution of the work. And, as it usually falls out, some other of their acquaintance, seeing such men of good estates engaged in the voyage, some for love to their persons, and others upon other respects, united unto them, which, together, made up a competent number (perhaps far less than is reported), and embarked themselves for a voyage to New England, where I hope they are long since safely arrived.

"This is an unpartial though brief relation of the occasion of the planting of this colony. The particulars whereof, if they could be entertained, were clear enough to any indifferent judgment, that the suspicious and scandalous reports raised upon these gentlemen and

their friends (as if, under the colour of planting a colony, they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and separation), are nothing else but the fruits of jealousy of some distempered mind, or, which is worse, perhaps savour of a desperate malicious plot of men ill affected to religion, endeavouring, by casting the undertakers into the jealousy of state, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they do and might expect from the countenance of authority. Such men would be entreated to forbear that base and unchristian course of traducing innocent persons, under these odious names of Separatists and enemies to the Church and State, for fear least their own tongues fall upon themselves by the justice of His hand who will not fail to clear the innocence of the just, and to cast back into the bosom of every slanderer the filth that he takes up to throw into other men's faces. As for men of more indifferent and better tempered minds, they would be seriously advised to beware of entertaining and admitting, much more countenancing and crediting, such uncharitable persons as discover themselves by their carriage, and that in this particular, to be men ill affected towards the work itself, if not to religion (at which it aims), and consequently unlikely to report any truth of such as undertake it."

The difference in motives which inspired the Puritan colony and those which actuated the Pilgrims is clearly expressed in *The Planter's Plea*.

Mr. Peter Oliver in *The Puritan Commonwealth*¹ confirms the planter's view that the patent was a simple charter of a commercial company. He adduces strong arguments to prove that the intent of an innocent document was from the first—as the critics whom the

¹ *The Puritan Commonwealth, . . . in the Civil and Ecclesiastical Relations.* By the late Peter Oliver. Boston, 1856.

planter condemns in such strong language contended—perverted to a purpose never intended by the King.

Mr. Oliver says: "The commonwealth of Massachusetts was ushered into existence as a pure oligarchy. Taking advantage of the feebleness and enthusiasm of the freemen, nearly all of whom had accompanied the charter, the assistants obtained an unanimous vote, authorising them to choose the governor and the deputy governor out of their own number, and leaving to the freemen only the election of the assistants, '*when they were to be chosen.*' But this arrangement left open the question *when* the assistants were to be chosen; and notwithstanding the charter provided that eighteen of these officers should be annually elected by the company, those of them only who had come over from England, scarce twelve in number, continued quietly in office for nearly two years. Thus a precedent was, at the outset, obtained for violating the provisions of the charter; and though the freemen soon recovered, in the ensuing struggle, their legal rights as electors, yet the court of assistants never afterwards was composed of a legitimate number of members; and the dignities, the emoluments, and, for a considerable time, the powers of the government, were monopolised by ten or twelve persons.

"This contempt for chartered right was accompanied by practical wrong. The board of directors, now metamorphosed into a council of state, took the affairs of the commonwealth entirely into their own hands: levying taxes, making laws, and punishing with severity all violations of their authority. They 'exercised all the powers of Parliament, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, Star Chamber and all the other courts of England.'

"At their first meeting after the transfer of the char-

ter, they sat as a parliament, promulgating a number of laws for the regulation of the plantation. The operation of these and subsequent laws originating from the same source afforded ample opportunity for the exercise of judicial powers, whether civil or criminal. As an ecclesiastical court of high commission, they ever maintained a jealous watch over the interests of the Puritan establishment; inflicting banishments, fines, whippings, and imprisonments upon heretics, schismatics, and dissenters. As a court of star-chamber, they levied taxes on the people, without their consent, and punished with extreme severity those who questioned their authority, or treated them with disrespect.¹ In fine, the court of assistants spared no rigour to advance their power and to compel obedience. Supreme authority was lodged in the hands of the few, irresponsible, and self-constituted; while the many, who had hugged themselves in the thought that they should enjoy the largest liberty in the wilderness, found that in their new position they were in danger of becoming vassals, at the same time that they became outlaws."

Referring to the "powers and privileges" conferred on the colony of Massachusetts Bay, Justice Story says:² "It is observable that the whole structure of the charter presupposes the residence of the company in England, and the transaction of all its business there. . . . There were many reasons for presuming that the Crown would be jealous of granting powers of

¹ For example, read the story of the inhabitants of Watertown, in Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. i., p. 70. These men feared that they "would be brought into bondage," and openly declared that they took the government "to be no other but as a mayor and aldermen, who have no power to make laws and levy taxes *without the people*." One Stone was banished the plantation on pain of death, being first heavily fined, because he called one of the assistants Justass, instead of Justice.

² *Commentaries on the Constitution*, page 30, 5th edition.



John Winthrop.

From a steel engraving.



so large a nature, which would be exercised at such a distance as would render control or responsibility over them wholly visionary. They were content, therefore, to get what they could, hoping that their usurpation of authority would not be closely watched." With regard to the actions of the company in London, transferring the seat of business, or really government, to the Colony, he says: "The power of the corporation to make the transfer has been seriously doubted and even denied. But the boldness of the step is not more striking than the silent acquiescence of the King in permitting it to take place. The proceedings of the royal authority a few years later sufficiently prove that the royal acquiescence was not intended as an admission of right."

What Mr. Oliver describes is what actually took place, but the inference he draws is not necessarily correct inasmuch as he ascribes as motives what probably occurred as an inevitable development. It is almost inconceivable that the Puritan leaders should have laid a scheme for deluding the King and his councillors into signing a document into which a double meaning could be read; and should have succeeded. They were keen politicians and profound casuists, as all successful theologians must be, and were therefore equipped to take advantage of any mistake which might be made. But they were not hypocrites any more than is any politician or parliamentary leader who avails himself of his opponent's errors of omission or commission. Reasonable consistency also need not be looked for in men under such strong religious impressions as controlled some of the Puritans; otherwise we would have to judge less leniently than we otherwise do of their treatment of all who differed from them, whether Antinomians, Quakers, or Episcopalian, and of their furious inhumanities during the witchcraft delusions.

Whatever may have been the intent of the charter, the commercial motives, and the religious opinions of the leaders before they left England, when they landed they were Puritans and their ambition was to establish a theocratic state, without obliterating altogether the principles of republicanism. The effort proved, in the long run, abortive; but the struggle during the seventeenth century, between the autocracy, including the executive, associates, and magistrates; the elders or clergy as a final court of appeal; and the freemen electing a popular assembly, is a most suggestive chapter in the history of the development of popular government. We cannot approve of the motives and some of the actions of the little group of the self-righteous men who persuaded themselves that, being God's elect, they were bound to impose their ideas and tyrannical wishes on the community; nor of the selfish policy of the freemen, who were nothing loath to restrict the franchise to themselves, as church members. But, on the other hand, we cannot attribute the inconsistencies of which the lay oligarchy and the clerics were guilty to base personal ambition without accusing them of intentional hypocrisy. They accepted their interpretation of the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, as the rule of life; but they regarded the old Hebrew state as the fundamental model on which a modern constitution and modern laws should be framed. Starting on these premises, which, however false, were most agreeable to the oligarchy, lay and clerical, the inferences and their conclusions were perfectly logical. It took several generations of opposition before the majority, completely regardless of logic, broke the power of the minority. Meanwhile, not without friction, the elements of popular government were evolved—a lower and upper house out of

the General Court to make the laws; an executive to administer them; and a judiciary, out of the court of the assistants, to see that they were justly interpreted and enforced. The Elders, constituting a court of appeals, acted by request rather than by right.

Winthrop's *Journal*, as a contemporary document, certainly affords conclusive proof, not of the disloyalty of the colonists at the moment of their embarking, but of the independent temper which possessed them as soon as they were free from the influence of the old country and touched the very edge of the great, unknown, and unexplored continent which their children were to occupy and use as the scene of one of the world's greatest experiments in self-government. In the following extracts from Winthrop's *Journal* undue prominence is perhaps given to this phase of the early history of the Colony; but the evidence which this document affords of their attitude in the conduct of their domestic affairs and in their independent dealings with their neighbours, the French, foreshadows what ultimately happened. Therefore too much weight cannot be laid on these significant beginnings. The determination to maintain absolute independence is, for instance, expressed by Winthrop when the concessions, wrung from Charles I by the Parliament in 1640, induced some of the friends of the Puritans in England to advise their friends in America "to send some one to solicit for us in the Parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much," etc. Winthrop's reply is that "consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of Parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us; in which course though

they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us."¹

In fact the King and Commons had begun to realise the mistake which had been made, and the Commons was inclined to curtail rather than increase the liberties conferred by the charters. The Puritan leaders in America, being sensitive of the drift of public feeling, realised the precariousness of their ambiguous position; for when in 1641 some of the colonists in England, without warrant from the court in Massachusetts, "preferred a petition to the Lords' house for redress of that restraint which had been put upon ships and passengers to New England," the colonists disapproved, because they dreaded any acknowledgment of the right of Parliament to interfere, even as Winthrop adds, though in this case "an order was made, that we should enjoy all our liberties, etc., according to our patent." They had reason for uneasiness and for procrastination, for the "patent, which had been condemned and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a *quo warranto*, was now implicitly revived and confirmed."²

Many references are made in the Winthrop *Journal* to the public dread of English intervention. It expresses the determination to resist by arms any approach by England to force her institutions on them, and to punish vigorously any who complained to England of the policy of the colonists. The following examples illustrate this phase of colonial life. Two sentences were passed at the September court in 1631. "A young fellow was whipped for soliciting an Indian squaw to incontinency," and at the same court "one Henry Linne was whipped and banished for writing letters into England full of slander against our govern-

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, ii., p. 50.

ment and orders of our churches."¹ Linne was still smarting under the same punishment, inflicted the year before, for the same crime as the "young fellow" had committed—hence his appealing to England.

In 1638 Governor Winthrop seems to have come into collision with a certain minister named Burdet who apparently had left the English Church because it was too lax, but after joining the church of Salem, Massachusetts, discovered that its discipline was too strict. By the order of the last General Court, the Governor wrote a letter to Mr. Burdet, Mr. Wiggin, and others of the plantation of Pascataquack, to this effect: "That, whereas there had been good correspondency between us formerly, we could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing, etc., some that we had cast out, etc., and that our purpose was to survey our utmost limits, and make use of them. Mr. Burdet returned a scornful answer, and would not give the governour his title, etc. This was very ill taken, for that he was one of our body, and sworn to our government, and a member of the Church of Salem; so as the governour was purposed to summon him to appear at our court to answer his contempt, but, advising with the deputy about it, he was dissuaded from it, the rather for that, if he should suffer in this cause, it would ingratiate him more with the archbishops (with whom he had intelligence, etc.), but his council was rather to undermine him by making him thoroughly known, etc., to his friends in Pascataquack, and to take them from him."² He reappeared the following year when "One of Pascataquack, having opportunity to go into Mr. Burdet his study, and finding there the copy of his letter to the archbishops, sent it to the governour—which was to this effect; That he did delay to go into England,

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, i., p. 332.

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because he would fully inform himself of the state of the people here in regard of allegiance; and that it was not discipline that was now so much aimed at, as sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason in our general courts to speak of appeals to the king." There was evidently as much if not more leakage at headquarters in those days than in these, for the correspondence of colonists with the English authorities was promptly repeated to the Saints.

Mr. Burdet's letters "lay above fourteen days in the bay, and some moved the governour to open them; but himself and others of the council thought it not safe to meddle with them, nor would take any notice of them; and it fell out well, by God's good providence; for the letters (by some means) were opened (yet without any of their privity or consent), and Mr. Burdet threatened to complain of it to the lords; and afterwards we had knowledge of the contents of them by some of his own friends." Providence was not over-scrupulous in the opinion of the Puritans

There was always a considerable element of dissatisfaction in the Colony, and this was not confined to the group of religious dissenters or the disorderly classes, but contained men of means like Maverick, who is the reputed author of the *Account of New England*. He therein expresses his grievances as follows:

"This Governor and his Councill, not long after their Aryall made a law that no man should be admitted a Freeman, and soe Consequently have any voyce in Election of Officers Civill or Military, but such as were first entered into Church covenant and brought Certificate of it, let there Estates, and accordingly there portion of land be never soe great, and there taxes towards publick Charges. Nor could any competency of Knowledge or inoffensiveness of liveing or conversa-

tion usher a man into there Church fellowship, unless he would also acknowledge the discipline of the Church of England to be erroneous and to renounce it, which very many never condescended unto, so that on this account the far great Number of his Majesties loyall subjects there never injoyed those privileges intended by his Royall ffather in his Grant, And upon yhis very accompt also, if not being Joyned in Church ffellowship many Thowzands have been debarred the Sacrament of the Lords Supper although of Competent knowledg, and of honest life and Godly conversation, and a very great Number are unbaptied. I know some neer 30 years old, 7 persons of Quality about 12 years since for petitioning for themselves & Neighbors that they might have votes in Elections as ffreeholders or be ffreed from publick Charge, and be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper and their Children to baptisme as Members of the Church of England and have liberty to have Ministers among themselves learned pious and Orthodox, no way dissonant from ye best Reformation in England, and desiring alsoe to have a body of Lawes to be Established and published to prevent Arbitrary Tiranny, For thus desireing these three reasonable requests besids imprisonment and other indignitys, they were fined 1000£, and Notw'standing they Appealled to England, they were forced to pay the same, and now also at great Charges to send one home to prosecute their appeall which proved to no Effect, That dismall Change falling out, Just at that time And they sending home hither one Edward Winslow a Smooth toungued Cunning fellow, who soon gott himselfe into Favor of those then in Supreame power, against whom it was in vaine to strive, and soe they remained sufferers to this day."

These complaints seriously troubled the English authorities, but they were embarrassed by a far more threatening rebellion nearer home, the repression of which they began to recognise would tax their resources to the utmost.

The desire of the Church party in England to embarrass the Colony by restraining the emigration and replacing their charter by one which would give at least some control to the home government through the appointment of a royal governor, was undisguised. It had found expression in 1634, when Charles and Laud were better able than in 1639 to enforce their will. Of that crisis Winthrop wrote: "It began to be apprehended by the archbishops and others of the council, as a matter of state, so as they sent out warrant to stay the ships, and to call in our patent; but, upon petition of the shipmasters, attending how beneficial this plantation was to England, in regard of the Newfoundland fishing, which they took in their way homeward, the ships were at that time released. But Mr. Cradock (who had been governour in England before the government was sent over) had strict charge to deliver in the patent; whereupon he wrote to us to send it home. Upon receipt of his letter, the governour and council consulted about it, and resolved to answer Mr. Cradock's letter, but not to return any answer or excuse to the council at that time."¹

Later "Mr. Cradock wrote to the governour and assistants, and sent a copy of the council's order, whereby we were required to send over our patent. Upon long consultation whether we should return answer or not, we agreed, and returned answer to Mr. Cradock, excusing that it could not be done but by a general court, which was to be holden in September

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 161.

next."¹ The September court met, but instead of deciding to return their patent, Winthrop relates that "at this court were many laws made against tobacco, and immodest fashions, and costly apparel, etc., as appears by the Records; and £600 raised towards fortifications and other charges, which were the more hastened, because the *Griffin* and another ship now arriving with about two hundred passengers and one hundred cattle (Mr. Lothrop and Mr. Simmes, two godly ministers, coming in the same ship), there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two archbishops and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them, or any five of them to call in all patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governours, and to hear and determine all causes, and inflict all punishments, even death itself, etc. This being advised from our friends to be intended specially for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for the carrying the new governour, Captain Woodhouse, to Virginia, but suspected to be against us, to compel us, by force, to receive a new governour, and the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the commissioners,—occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications, and to discover our minds each to other; which grew to this conclusion, viz."² The conclusion was, though not so stated, to neglect, if not to refuse, to return the charter. These clever dilatory measures prevailed, and subsequent events were still more efficacious in warding off the catastrophe which otherwise would inevitably have occurred, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges was exciting an attack on the Colony. He had a grudge against the Puritans, who had, he claimed, robbed him of his

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, i., p. 170.

domain, and had he gone out as Governor, with forces at his disposal, he would have ruled with a high hand.

The fact, nevertheless, is thus patent, that within four years of their landing they were erecting fortifications to resist the English authorities on a menace which they were merely advised by their friends to be intended for them, and which in fact was never put into operation, but which was certainly of such a character as to excite the utmost alarm.¹

There was even then undoubtedly a considerable element in the Colony which resisted the ecclesiastical tyranny of the elders, and the restriction of the franchise to church members, and who argued that the rule of the ministers was as intolerable as that of the bishops.

Six years afterwards there was a slight movement excited to emigrate to Virginia or some more southerly climate. The principal argument against the migration was "the subjection of those that might leave the community for the Royal Colony to such governors as those in England shall set over them."

But perhaps the most interesting confusion of local patriotism and conscientious scruple was exhibited in the controversy of the cross. So sensitive were the Puritans of the very name of cross that when, on Governor Winthrop's return from a visit to Plymouth, "they came to the Great River (North River) they were carried over by one Luddam, their guide (as they had been when they came, the stream being very strong, and up to the crotch); so the governour called that passage Luddam's Ford. Thence they came to a place called Hue's Cross. The governour, being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say that their religion

¹ It is reproduced in full in Drake's *Founders of New England*, p. 89.



*C*hise map Certifys all whom it may Concern That M^r
is an Indified Montroyal
at his MAJESTY'S South Chaltry, in Boston, under my Command
Given under my Hand this
Year of his Majestys reign,

The South Battery.
From Green's Facsimile.



was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's Folly."¹

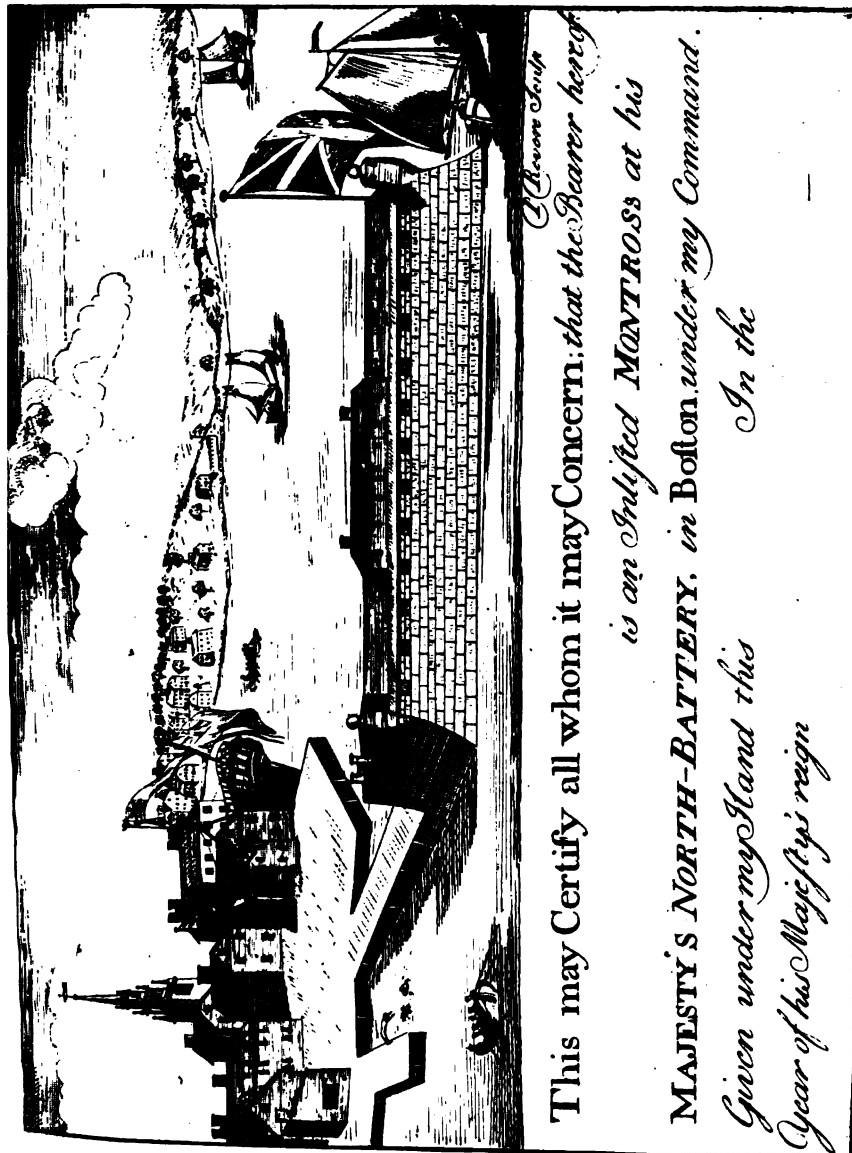
On the 19th of the eleventh month, for so they had come to designate their dates, rather than use any names derived from heathen mythology, "All the ministers, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the governour and assistants, to consider of these two cases: 1. What we ought to do, if a general governour should be sent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners? In the first case, they all agreed, that, if a general governour were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions (if we are able); otherwise to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross, they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting."² Winthrop describes the incident of the cross as argued at the General Court on November 5. He says (p. 175): "At the court of assistants complaint was made by some of the country (viz., Richard Brown of Watertown, in the name of the rest) that the ensign at Salem was defaced, viz., one part of the red cross taken out. Upon this, an attachment was awarded against Richard Davenport, ensign-bearer, to appear at the next court to answer. Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the king's colours; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relique of antichrist." There is no reason to suppose that Endicott, who defaced the flag, was moved by other than the most strained motive of bigotry, and that no offence to the realm of England was intended. But it is equally clear that such a

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, i., p. 183.

defacement of the symbol of empire, under which their fathers had fought and which stood for all their traditions of the past, showed a weakening, if not an obliteration, of patriotism in the man who did it, and in the people who approved. England had done nothing to forfeit their affection since they had left their native land, and the persecutions they had complained of before emigrating were exactly what they were now inflicting on such of their former persecutors as came under their hard rule. Therefore, theoretically, they cannot have looked upon ecclesiastical coercion as being in itself reprehensible. It is not easy to determine how much patriotism (accepting the word in its full modern meaning) really existed in the world at that time. There were such acute divisions in all civilised lands, springing out of the great religious schism and out of the wars and political dissensions which had grown out of them, that society was divided against itself, and compromise in politics was classed as a crime equally with toleration in religious belief and practices. Under such conditions patriotism could not bud and bloom. At any rate there was no such sympathetic attachment between the New England colonists and Old England as to-day survives in Englishmen self-expatriated from their mother country. As a result, the defacement of the ensign was by no means universally reprobated, seeing that at the next court when "Mr. Endicott was called to answer for defacing the cross in the ensign, because the court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred till the next general court; and the commissioners for military affairs gave order, in the mean time, that all the ensigns should be laid aside, etc."¹ It may not have been

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 186.



Chancery Seal
This may Certify all whom it may Concern: that the: Beauer heare
is an Indited Manross at his
MAJESTY'S NORTH-BATTERY, in Boston under my Command.
Given under my Hand this
Year of his Majestys reign

The North Battery.
From Green's Facsimile.

accidental that at the same court "a commission for military affairs was established, which had power of life and limb," and even such summary powers as that of making either offensive or defensive war.

The subject was revived at the court held at New-town (Cambridge) in March, 1635, when Endicott was dropped from the list of officeholders, and he "was called into question about the defacing the cross in the ensign; and a committee was chosen, viz., every town chose one (which yet were voted by all the people), and the magistrates chose four, who, taking the charge to consider of the offence, and the censure due it, and to certify the court, after one or two hours' time, made report to the court, that they found his offence to be great, viz., rash and without discretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not seeking advice of the court, etc.; uncharitable, in that he, judging the cross, etc., to be a sin, did content himself to have reformed it at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also; laying a blemish also upon the rest of the magistrates, as if they would suffer idolatry, etc., and having occasion to the state of England to think ill of us; for which they adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent."¹

A person who caused the authorities great uneasiness was Samuel Gorton. Mr. Cotton calls his principles "the very dregs of familism." He was unquestionably one of those talkative fanatics whose presence is most offensive to officeholders, who have to face a large dissatisfied opposition, as was undoubtedly the case in

¹ Winthrop, i., pp. 188-189.

Massachusetts; and to ecclesiastics, who must maintain their position by argument, and may prefer banishing a clever disputant to answering him. Gorton therefore found it convenient to move from Massachusetts to Plymouth, whence he was driven to Rhode Island, and took refuge in Providence. According to Hutchinson, he was whipped in Plymouth, as well as banished, for preaching, and whipped again out of Rhode Island by order of Governor Doddington. The records do not show that such extreme measures were inflicted, but the lash was laid on so often for less offence than contempt of the civil authorities, that offenders were probably sentenced to be whipped more with a view to indicate the gravity of the offence than to cause actual suffering. In the case of the Quakers, women could not have endured the exhaustion of repeated punishment at the cart-tail from town to town if the blows had been heavy. When Gorton was banished the island, he went with his wife and children to Providence. But Roger Williams, while merciful to the white men and red, was not much more tolerant of dissenting theological views than were they who cast him out of Salem. He sheltered the refugee, expressing his disapproval of Master Gorton's views, who "having fully abused high and low at Aquednish, is now bewildering and bemadening poor Providence, denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism." Providence proving an uncongenial home, Gorton at last settled at Pawtuxet, near Providence, and bought from the Indians a tract of land. It had been already occupied by colonists, who, submitting to its jurisdiction, laid their grievance before the Massachusetts authorities. Miantinomo, the former sachem of Narragansett, who had always befriended the English, consented to this sale made to Gorton and his heretical associates,

by two of his subordinate chiefs, Shaomet and Patuxet. The concurrence of the great chief in an act so obnoxious to the Massachusetts authorities may have suggested his murder to Onkus.¹

At any rate the Bay was ready enough to take up the quarrel, and sent an armed force to arrest Gorton and his confederates. The people of Providence interfered and suggested arbitration, to which Gorton agreed; but the Massachusetts commission refused. Violence was then resorted to. The Gortonists took refuge in a house. The Massachusetts men tried vainly to burn them out. At last three escaped and nine surrendered, "though by a special providence of God" (or bad marksmanship), "neither any of them nor of ours were slain."

Gorton was allowed to speak in church, and proclaim if not explain his mystical views, before being tried in court. "The court and the elders spent near a whole day in discovery of Gorton's deep mysteries which he had boasted of in his letters, and to bring him to conviction, but all was in vain. Much pains was also taken with the rest, but to as little effect. They would acknowledge no error or fault in their writings, and yet would seem sometimes to consent with us in the truth.

"After divers means had been used both in public and private to reclaim them, and all had proved fruitless, the court proceeded to consider of their sentence, in which the court was much divided. All the magistrates, save three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die, but the greatest number of the deputies dissenting, that vote did not pass. In the end all agreed upon this sentence for seven of them, viz., that they should be dispersed into seven several towns, and there kept

¹ Note to Winthrop, ii., p. 161.

to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the town, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death, only with exception for speech with any of the elders, or any other licensed by any magistrate to confer with them; this censure to continue during the pleasure of the court."¹

According to Hutchinson² "Gorton says, 'they cast a lot for their lives, putting it to the major vote of the court whether they should live or die, and that God in his providence ordered it by a majority of two votes only, in favor of their lives.' "

Their incarceration lasted till the following spring, when he and his followers were banished from the Colony. Gorton then went to England, and laid his case before the Commissioners for the English Plantation in America, and secured an order to the colonial authorities to allow himself and his adherents to resume possession of their land in Narragansett Bay, and in going thither to disembark in any part of New England. The order was obeyed. The Massachusetts Court decided to submit rather than to raise an issue with the home authorities; but they sent Mr. Edward Winslow to England, who succeeded in persuading the Commissioners of the Plantations to rescind the order. Gorton reappeared in Boston in 1648, and on presenting a letter from his patron, the Earl of Warwick, was allowed a week within which to leave the Colony. Subsequently he and his adherents were permitted to live in peace at Showamie, which they called Warwick, in recognition of their patron, Gorton giving vent to his feelings in print, and having the satisfaction of being answered by Winslow. Whatever may have been the

¹ Winthrop, ii., pp. 176-177.

² Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, note, p. 122, vol. i.

opinion and preference of the Commissioners of the Plantations, he petitioned Charles II in vain for pecuniary redress from the Colony of Massachusetts. In truth, whether under the Commonwealth or after the Restoration, England hesitated to enter into a controversy with her boisterous, independent child across the sea. The parent state was averse to forcing a quarrel, and the Colony was anxious to avoid one, but prepared to face the consequences if obliged to do so.

Gorton seems to have held office in his little commonwealth till his death, and to have been, like many another fanatic, sane when not excited over his particular delusion. But this little scrap of history is illustrative of the political independence of the English colonists as compared with the French, and of the restlessness in thought and belief which was both the cause and result of the Protestant revolution, but which was not allowed to disturb the peace of New France.

Slight rumblings of the war between the Parliament and the King crossed the sea and caused the Puritans no little uneasiness, but very little loss. Bristol was for the King and London for the Parliament; but that did not prevent the Bostonians entrusting a cargo for sale in Spain to the captain of a Bristol ship. It was just about to sail, when Captain Stagg in a London ship of twenty guns, with a cargo of wine from Teneriffe and a commission in his pocket from the Parliament, entered port, moored his vessel between Charlestown and the Bristol trader, and gave the skipper a half hour to surrender with his crew and cargo, or be blown out of the water. The townfolk gathered on Windmill Hill to watch the combat, and those who had interest in the ship and its cargo, "especially one Bristol merchant, a very bold malignant person," were worked

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up to the riot pitch at the indignity shown to the commonwealth. But the noisy crowd was dispersed by the constable; and Captain Stagg, when called to account, produced his commission, promised to appear at a meeting at Salem, and kept his promise. "Some of the elders, the last Lord's day, had in their sermons reprobred this proceeding, and exhorted the magistrates, etc., to maintain the people's liberties, which were, they said, violated by this act, and that a commission could not supersede a patent. And at this meeting some of the magistrates and some of the elders were of the same opinion, and that the captain should be forced to restore the ship. But the greater part of both were of a different judgment."¹ Various arguments were used in favour of acquiescence in what had been done. But two were conclusive, viz: "The King of England was enraged against us, and all that part, and all the popish states in Europe; and if we should now, by opposing the parliament, cause them to forsake us, we could have no protection or countenance from any, but should lie open as a prey to all men;" and "lastly, if any of our people have any goods in the ship, it is not to be questioned, but upon testimony the parliament will take order for their satisfaction."² Then follows, in Winthrop's *Journal*, what may be accepted as the popular comment in the Colony on this stirring event, though not expressed in "popular language." "It was objected by some, that our's is *perfecta respublica* and so not subject to appeals, and consequently to no other power but among ourselves. It was answered, that though our patent frees us from appeals in cases of judicature, yet not in point of state; for the King of England cannot *erigere perfectam rem-publicam* in such a sense: for *nemo potest plus juris in*

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

alios transferre quam in se habet; he hath not an absolute power without the parliament.

"Upon these and other considerations, it was not thought fit to oppose the parliament's commission, but to suffer the captain to enjoy his prize. But because some of our merchants had put goods aboard her, wherein they claimed property, they desired to try their right by action, to which the captain consented to appear."¹ The matter was not allowed to drop, but was revived at the General Court in 1645, when we see the members of the popular chamber again at odds with the magistrates, or members of the upper chamber; who, as became their position as arbiters and judges, were for prudent and deliberate action, foreseeing that the passage of the popular bill, to give protection to all ships coming into the harbour as friends, might put upon the commonwealth the necessity of fighting with some parliamentary ships. Of all things, they dreaded most the coming into conflict with the English Parliament. The Puritans were as timid about interference by the Commonwealth Parliament as by one summoned by Charles, for the English Parliament under the Commonwealth was as obnoxious to the Puritans as parliamentary rule had been under the Stuarts. This dread of Puritan parliamentary interference was not disguised. A synod was convened in 1646, and objection was made to certain of its rulings by men "who came lately from England, where such a vast liberty was allowed." Under the colonial rule of rigid uniformity, objection was raised to the action of the parliamentary commissioners, who "had sent orders to all English Plantations in the West Indies . . . that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and had by letters intimated the same to us."²

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 225.

² *Ibid.*, p. 329.

The fear lest what they considered their liberty, but in fact their autocratic zeal, be invaded from within was quite as acute as their determination was strong to resist, even by force of arms, any infringement of their presumed rights under the original patent by England. The conferring of office for life, nepotism, the confusion of the legislative and judicial branches of government, and the reducing the number of deputies in the lower house, thereby strengthening the power of the court of assistants and magistrates in the upper house, though not called by that name, were regarded as symptoms of oligarchy, the mere suspicion of which awakened popular watchfulness. John Winthrop, in 1639, was serving his sixth term as Governor, having held that appointment from 1630 to 1634, and had been recalled in 1637, after the people had tried for one year each Dudley, Haynes, and Vane. When he was proposed for re-election in 1639 he "was chosen, though some laboring had been by some of the elders and others to have changed, not out of any dislike of him, (for they all loved and esteemed him), but out of their fear lest it might make way for having a governour for life, which some had propounded as most agreeable to God's institution and the practice of all well ordered states. But neither the governour nor any other attempted the thing; though some jealousies arose which were increased by two occasions. The first was, there being want of assistants, the governour and other magistrates thought fit (in the warrant for the court) to propound three, amongst which Mr. Downing, the governour's brother-in-law, was one, which they conceived to be done to strengthen his party, and therefore, though he were known to be a very able man, etc., and one who had done many good offices for the country for these ten years, yet the people would not

choose him. Another occasion of their jealousy was, the court, finding the number of deputies to be much increased by the addition of new plantations, thought fit, for the ease both of the country and the court, to reduce all towns to two deputies. This occasioned some to fear, that the magistrates intended to make themselves stronger, and the deputies weaker, and so in time, to bring all power into the hands of the magistrates; so as the people in some towns were much displeased with their deputies for yielding to such an order. Whereupon, at the next session, it was propounded to have the number of deputies restored; and allegations were made, that it was an infringement of their liberty; so as, after much debate, and such reasons given for diminishing the number of deputies, and clearly proved that their liberty consisted not in the number, but in the thing, divers of the deputies, who came with intent to reverse the last order, were, by force of reason, brought to uphold it; so that, when it was put to the vote, the last order for two deputies only was confirmed. Yet, the next day, a petition was brought to the court from the freemen of Roxbury, to have the third deputy restored. Whereupon the reasons of the court's proceedings were set down in writing, and all objections answered, and sent to such towns as were unsatisfied with this advice, that, if any could take away those reasons, or bring us better for what they did desire, we should be ready, at the next court, to repeal the said order."¹

As might have been expected, considering that the imposition of taxes by the Commons alone had been claimed as the most sacred right of the people of England since the thirteenth century, and that just then the infringement of that right by Charles I was

¹ Winthrop, i., pp. 360-362. .

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breeding civil war, the Puritan colonists were on the alert to repress any attempt by their elected officers to curtail the number and rights of the deputies who "held this power of the purse."

The year after their landing, the Governor and assistants had exceeded their legitimate power. When called to account they acknowledged their mistake and reversed their order. The incident is related by Winthrop¹ and is significant of the sensitive dread by the people of infringement by the magistrates (or upper chamber) of the prerogatives of the deputies (the lower house), and this though the future system of colonial government had not been actually established.

"The governour and assistants called before them, at Boston, divers of Watertown; the pastor and elder by letter, and the others by warrant. The occasion was, for that a warrant being sent to Watertown for levying of £8, part of a rate of £60, ordered for the fortifying of the new town, the pastor and elder, etc., assembled the people and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage. Being come before the governour and council, after much debate, they acknowledged their fault, confessing freely that they were in error, and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were enjoined to read it in the assembly the next Lord's Day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and alderman, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people; but understanding that this government was rather in the nature of a parliament, and that no assistant could be chosen but

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 84.

by the freemen, who had power likewise to remove the assistants and put in others, and therefore at every general court (which was to be held once every year) they had free liberty to consider and propound anything concerning the same, and to declare their grievances, without being subject to question, or etc., they were fully satisfied; and so their submission was accepted, and their offence pardoned." Whether, therefore, the government was intended to be municipal or parliamentary under the charter was probably a disputed question on which the officials and those who left written records are prudently silent.

In 1632 the election of representative deputies to their first actual parliament, whether called so or not, took place, and "every town chose two men to be at the next court, to advise with the governour and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all, etc."

The gradual evolution of an assembly with the function of a parliament is incidentally explained by Winthrop. Two years after the above entry is the following: "Notice being sent out of the general court to be held the 14th day of the third month, called May, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same general court; who, having met, desired a sight of the patent, and, conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the general court, repaired to the governour to advise with him about it, and about the abrogating of some orders formerly made, as for killing of swine in corn, etc. He told them, that, when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws; but now they were grown to so great a body, as it was not possible for

them to make or execute laws, but they must choose others for that purpose: and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a select company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the commonwealth bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it. Yet this they might do at present, viz., they might, at the general court, make an order, that, once in the year, a certain number should be appointed (upon summons from the governour) to revise all laws, etc., and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the court of assistants; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of."¹

The General Court of all the inhabitants, when they were not numerous, was the law-making body and the high court of justice; while the Governor, with his assistants, and deputy governor, constituted the executive. The deputies, or the committee, as Winthrop called them, became in course of time, as he describes, the representatives of the high court, and therefore by right the law-making powers. But at first the Governor, while recognising their right alone to impose taxes, would restrict their law-making to a mere revisory function. In this small community, as well as in the wider field of England, the executive grudgingly yielded any concession to the demands of the representatives of the people or the Commons.

Lechford,² "a fractious attorney," in his *Plain Dealing* (p. 63), in describing the government of the

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 152.

² *Plain Dealing, or News from New England*, by Thomas Lechford. Edited by J. Hammond Trumbull, Boston, 1867.

Common Weale, says: "And they themselves say that in the General and Quarter Courts they have the power of Parliament—King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commons, and of Star Chamber, and all other courts in England, and in divers cases have exercised that power upon the king's subjects there, as is not difficult to prove." He instanced inflicting the death penalty, maiming, whipping, "for ecclesiastical and civil offences and without sufficient record." The deputies (as representatives of the people) were jealous of the power of the magistrates who in the General Court had the right of veto. The magistrates argued in favor of their privilege from the charter, the constitution of the General Court in 1634, and from general principle, claiming that the possession of the negative vote 'was fundamental to our government, which if taken away would be a mere democracy.' Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away."¹

So the magistrates resorted to the old and new method of gaining time by postponing further consideration to the next meeting of the court. "It was the magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and the advice of the elders (the clergy) might be interposed." The magistrates won their veto; but the controversy was not settled till the meeting of the court in 1644, when, "upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered that the Court should be divided in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves and the deputies by themselves, what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed upon, then to pass, etc. This order determined the great contention about the negative."²

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 143.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

But the subject was revived in 1645, when, the Colony growing, and with it the number of constituents, "The court, finding that the over number of deputies drew out the courts into great length, and put the country to excessive charges, so as some one court hath expended more than 200 pounds, etc., did think fit to have fewer deputies, and so to have only five or six out of each shire; and because the deputies were still unsatisfied with the magistrates' negative vote, the magistrates consented to lay it down, so as the deputies might not exceed them in number, and those to be the prime men of the country, to be chosen by the whole shires; but they agreed first to know the mind of the country. But upon trial, the greater number of towns refused it, so it was left for this time."¹ The number of deputies in the next court was only thirty-three.

When the great depression in trade occurred, owing to the decline in immigration after 1640, and the tide of population flowed back to the old country, Winthrop describes, as special providence, the mishaps that befell a few of the recalcitrant settlers; but his reflections are also interesting as expressing the peculiar bond of sympathy which held together those of the Colony who were freemen, church members, and who by their loyalty prevented disintegration. His remarks apply of course only to that one class; but as they possessed the wealth and the political influence, and were absolutely agreed on matters of general policy, they, as composing a powerful oligarchy, controlled the destiny of the Colony. He says: "Much disputation there was about liberty of removing for outward advantages, and all ways were sought for an open door to get out at; but it is to be feared many crept out at a

¹ Winthrop, ii., pp. 262-263.

broken wall. For such as come together into a wilderness, where are nothing but wild beasts and beastlike men, and there confederate together in civil and church estate, whereby they do, implicitly at least, bind themselves to support each other, and all of them that society, whether civil or sacred, whereof they are members, how they can break from this without free consent, is hard to find, so as may satisfy a tender or good conscience in time of trial."¹ The spirit of local patriotism grew strong as that of national patriotism grew weak.

It is a truism, but none the less difficult to practise, mentally that it is unfair to judge our forefathers by our present rules of humanity or by our present standards of theology. The English statutes of the Tudors and the Stuarts were barbarous, and so were the ordinances of the Puritans; nor were the latter less brutal because so often justified by the ancient and supposed sacred code of a still more barbaric age. Acts which we would consider laudable, because indicating courage and independence of judgment, were then regarded as injurious to the state and therefore to the church, because the state was theocratic and the clergy were the interpreters of the oracles of God. The persecution of the Quakers and the punishment of witches were mistaken acts of religion; because Quaker doctrine and the deviltry of witchcraft were breaches of the divine law, as the elders interpreted it, which the civil power had to repress, under Puritan practice, even as in Spain the civil power had to execute the verdict of the Holy Office. Under early New England rule the range of criminality was almost as wide as that defined by the Inquisition. Winthrop reports:

"At this court one Philip Ratcliffe, a servant of Mr.

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 104.

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Cradock, being convict, *ore tenus*, of most foul, scandalous invectives against our churches and government, was censured to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished the plantation, which was presently executed.¹

"At the same court one Smith was convicted and fined £20 for being a chief stirrer in the business (writing slanderous letters to England about the government); and one Silvester disfranchised; and one Britton, who had spoken reproachfully of the answer, which was sent to Mr. Barnard his book against our church covenant, and of some of our elders, and had sided with Mr. Lenthall, etc., was openly whipped."²

Winthrop tells us that in 1636 Mr. Cotton, "being requested by the general court, with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did this court, present a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next general court."³ These laws, falsely printed in London in 1641 as though "now established," are published in vol. v., pp. 171-192, First Series of the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. The ingenious way in which scriptural authority is textually found for laws, to be adapted to the seventeenth century, is a good example of the methods of Puritan exegesis. Heinrich Heine considered that "the Protestants in German countries (men of Teutonic stock) were nothing more or less than ancient Oriental Jews."⁴ The Old Testament had certainly a strong fascination for the extreme Protestant churches immediately after the Reformation. Of course excuses can be made and should be made, but none the less we are warranted in thinking that had the Puritans of New England really lived up

¹ Winthrop, i., pp. 67-68.

² *Idem.*, p. 347.

³ *Idem.*, pp. 240-241. ⁴ Smiles's *Huguenots*, note, p. 100, vol. ii.

to the teachings of the New Testament, instead of finding justification for their cruelty and bigotry in the Old, they would have advanced civilisation a century, and offered to the world for the first time an example of what true Christianity really is, and that "a free church in a free state" is the ideal consummation of Protestantism. In Canada there was no persecution because there was no dissent.

Cotton's Mosaical code was not adopted; but three years later the subject was revived and Winthrop makes the following sage remarks upon the subject: "The people had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders; but still it came to no effect; for, being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some, was still disliked or neglected by others. At last it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde, etc., and each of them framed a model, which were presented to this general court, and by them committed to the governour and deputy and some others to consider of, and so prepare it for the court in the 3d month next. Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us, which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions, etc., and so the laws of England and other States grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, *consuetudines*.

2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England; and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law, that marriages should not be solemnised by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, etc."¹ How to frame laws suited to this peculiar condition of the Colony, which when formulated into a statute should not conflict with the laws of England and therefore exceed their rights under the charter, may well have required considerable practice in the delicate art of casuistry.

About this time the scrupulosity of the good people of the Colony was at the height. Soon after Mr. Winthrop's death, Mr. Endicott, the most rigid of any of the magistrates, being governor, joined with the other assistants in an association against long hair. The text against long hair in Corinthians, as contrary to the custom in the apostle's day, induced our ancestors to think it criminal in all ages and all nations, and to regard it as one of the proofs of the degradation of the Indians. It is a wonder that the text in Leviticus, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads," was never brought against wearing short hair. The rule in New England was that none should allow their hair to grow below their ears. In a clergyman long hair was more intolerable than in a layman. Governor Winthrop was the first prohibitionist, according to Hutchinson (p. 151), who thus analyses Winthrop's

¹ Winthrop, i., pp. 388-389.

character: "In the beginning of 1649 (March 26) died Mr. Winthrop the father of the country in the 63rd year of his age. His death caused a general grief through the colony. He spent his estate and his bodily strength in the publick service, altho' he was remarkable for his temperance, frugality and economy. His virtues were many, his errors few, and yet he could not escape calumny and detraction, which would sometimes make too great an impression upon him. He was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted and was disposed to lay too great stress upon indifferent matters. He first proposed leaving off the custom of drinking one to another, and then procured a law to prohibit it. He pursued with great vehemence Mr. Vane's adherents. He might have some political views mixed with this instance of his zeal. Some writers say that upon his death-bed when Mr. Dudley pressed him to sign an order of banishment of an heterodox person he refused saying he had 'done too much of that work already.' "

CHAPTER X

HOW THE PURITANS ON THE BAY TREATED THEIR FRENCH NEIGHBOURS OF L'ACADIE

NOT a little of the thoughts and deliberations of the colonists were directed to the relations, friendly or hostile, of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonists with their French neighbours on the Atlantic, and they occupy many pages of Winthrop's diary. In 1635 some of the colonists, after Plymouth's experience at Penobscot, foresaw probable trouble with their neighbours, and therefore "Mr. Winslow, late governor of Plymouth, being in England, petitioned the council there for a commission to withstand the intrusion of the French and the Dutch."¹ The action, however, owing to the sensitiveness of the Puritans about the slightest interference by the mother country, was disapproved of, for Winthrop adds that the action "was taken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England." Henceforth they certainly did manage their own foreign affairs in their own way. But till after Razilly's death, when the quarrel broke out between his successor Mons. D'Aulnay and La Tour, the colonists had no reason to complain of offensive acts by the French. On the contrary, trade was amicably carried on between the

¹ Winthrop, i., 205 (172).

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neighbours on the Atlantic coast, but not with those on the St. Lawrence. In the commercial dealings of the Pilgrims with their neighbours, the French, the religious differences were not allowed to interfere with their interests. In fact, the combination of business shrewdness, political acumen, and sincere and deep religious enthusiasm in the Pilgrim and Puritan explains to no small degree the success of their colonial schemes.

The first reference made in the *Journal*¹ to the Acadians is to the attack by La Tour the elder on the Plymouth trading post at Penobscot. Winthrop says nothing about Bradford's appeal for assistance to redress the injury and merely tells that about the middle of November, 1634, "Mr. Allerton's pinnace came from the French about Port Royal. They went to fetch the two men which had been carried by the French from Machias, and to demand the goods taken, etc.; but Mr. La Tour made them answer that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the King of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wishing them to take notice, and to certify the rest of the English that if they traded to the East of Pemaquid he would make prize of them. Being desired to show his commission, he answered, that his sword was commission sufficient, when he had strength to overcome; where that wanted, he would show his commission."² La Tour, probably Claude de La Tour, who indulged in such braggadocio, was the father of a son who figured as a most picturesque character in the early history of New France, the Sieur Charles de La Tour.³ Father and son were adven-

¹ Winthrop, ii., 184 (154).

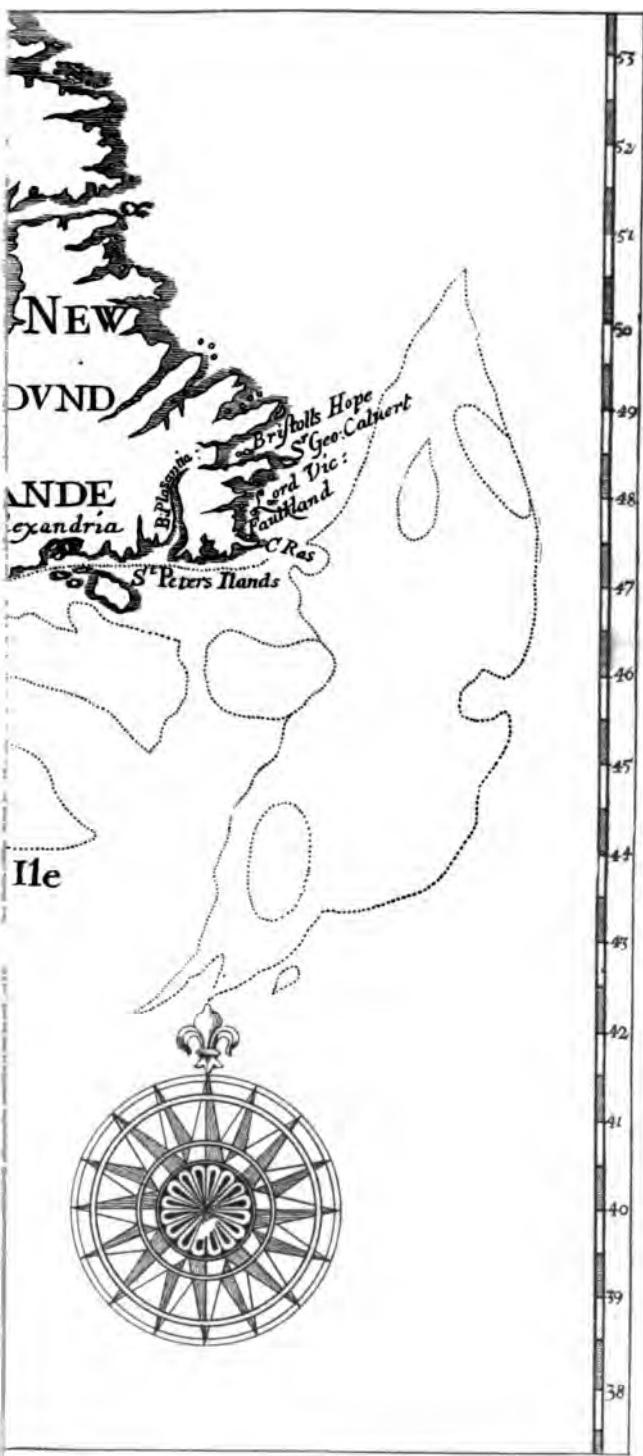
² *Ibid.*, i., p. 184.

³ Edw. Winslow by deed transfers later to Winthrop these rights on the Penobscot, said to have been wrongfully seized by D'Aulnay, not by La Tour.—Winthrop, ii., p. 221.

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turers of much the same type. Neither had any reason to love the English. Both had been among Argall's prisoners when he had raided Port Royal in 1613, and the father was aboard Roquemont's fleet when it surrendered to Kirke in the St. Lawrence. He made the best of his captivity in England by marrying an English wife and accepting service under Charles. Meanwhile the son had built himself a fort at Cape Sable, and the father was sent with two ships to force his surrender. The son resisted and the father yielded. Neither the father nor the son was sensitive on the subject of either nationality or religion.

In 1633 Isaac de Razilly came out to take possession of l'Acadie for the Company of the One Hundred Associates, or of New France, and delegated his authority over part of his domain to his cousin, the Sieur Aulnay. The young La Tour seemed to have retained his fort St. Louis on Sable Island, even after he had built another at the head of the Bay of Fundy near the present St. John. After Razilly's death his cousin, the Sieur d'Aulnay, assumed the chief command. La Tour had been the so-called lieutenant-general for the King, though what power that title conferred is not clear. His commission had never been revoked or confirmed. He claimed co-ordinate authority with D'Aulnay. D'Aulnay refused to recognise it and envied him his magnificent trading position at the mouth of the St. John. Then commenced a struggle between the rivals, the only heroic incident of which was the defence of La Tour's fort by his wife, and her tragical death on seeing her garrison massacred after their surrender. The most despicable incident was the marriage of the widower of such a wife to the widow of his rival, that their mundane interests might be reconciled. In this quarrel New Englanders took a part; sometimes siding



with one of the belligerents, sometimes siding with the other, as trading interests dictated; doubling and debating; always doubting the righteousness of their action, but finding good scriptural arguments for doing what they wished. La Tour, with his pliable and insinuating ways, helped them to come to the conclusions desired, which were based, not on the maxims of international law and strict neutrality, but on Hebrew precedents. D'Aulnay was a consistent Frenchman and Catholic; La Tour was a Huguenot when soliciting aid in Boston, a possible Catholic when pleading his cause in Quebec. But there must have been a fascination and charm about the man, who could attract two such women as his two wives, ingratiate himself with the powers in Paris, be even allowed to land in Quebec with his known Huguenot proclivities, and cast a glamour over the sombre men of the Bay. He was not over scrupulous in money matters. He wheedled a considerable sum out of his friend, Major Gibbons,¹ and the last reference to him in Winthrop's *Journal* is that "though tied with many strong bonds of courtesy, etc., he turned pirate, etc. Whereby it appeared (as the scripture saith) that there is no confidence in an unfaithful and carnal man."²

The negotiations between the Puritans and the French give an interesting glance into the working of the Puritan mind, and illustrate the elimination of any consideration for imperial interests in their foreign doings.

La Tour was the first to appeal to the English for assistance against D'Aulnay. In 1642 he sent a shallop (sloop) with a lieutenant and crew of fourteen "full of compliments." They, though papists, attended meeting and praised the good order of the town. All

¹ Winthrop, i., pp. 228-229.

² *Ibid.*, p. 325.

the envoy got was a gift from one of the elders of a French Testament, "which he kindly accepted and promised to read." The cordial reception which his lieutenant had met with evidently led La Tour to venture a step further. On April 12, 1643,¹ La Tour arrived unannounced in a ship of 140 tons and a crew of 140, with his Catholic wife, two friars, and two tirewomen. Their coming produced great commotion, but the governor, being persuaded that they came on a peaceable mission, took La Tour to Captain Gibbons's house. It had been better for the major's purse had he never known the clever Frenchman. La Tour satisfied them that he was his Majesty's lieutenant of l'Acadie and commissioned by the company to oppose D'Aulnay. On this assurance the magistrates, while unwilling to render him official aid, "thought it not fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him." La Tour was allowed to land forty armed men, who were received on training day. After "they had dined, (La Tour and his officers with our officers, and his soldiers invited home by the private soldiers,) in the afternoon they were permitted to exercise." Such dealings with papists and Frenchmen naturally created widespread comment and not a little dissent. To quiet public apprehension in a special meeting the matter was debated upon these heads:

"1. Whether it were lawful for Christians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them?

"2. Whether it were safe for our state to suffer him to have aid from us against D'Aulnay?"²

"The governour by letters informed the rest of the commissioners of the United Colonies of what had passed about La Tour; but he delayed giving an

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 128.

² *Idem*, p. 132.

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answer, till some more of the magistrates and deputies might have been assembled, and the elders likewise consulted with. Conceiving that he stood still under the same sentence of the arrest from the state of France, there would have been no need of advice in the case, for we must have given him the same answer we gave his lieutenant the last year, and upon the same ground, viz. That however he might trade here for such commodities as he stood in need of, yet he could expect no aid from us, for it would not be fit nor safe for us to do that which might justly provoke the state of France against us. But being met, and seeing the commission from the vice-admiral, etc., that occasion of danger being removed, we doubted not but we might safely give him such answer as we did, without further trouble to the country or delay to him.”¹

“Later the governour with the advice of some of the magistrates and elders, wrote a letter to D’Aulnay, taking occasion in answer to his letter in *ober* last to this effect, viz. Whereas he found by the arrest he sent last autumn, that La Tour was under displeasure and censure in France, thereupon we intended to have no further to do with him than by way of commerce which is allowed, and if he had made prize of any of our vessels in that way, as he threatened, we should have righted ourselves so well as we could, without injury to himself or just offence to his majesty of France, whom we did honour as a great and mighty prince, and should endeavour always to behave ourselves towards his majesty and all his subjects as became us, etc. But La Tour coming now to us, and acquainting us how it was with him, etc., and here mentioning the vice-admiral’s commission and the letters, etc., though we

¹ Winthrop, ii., pp. 138–139.

thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in the wars of any of our neighborus, yet considering his urgent distress, we could not in christianity or humanity deny him liberty to hire for his money any ships in our harbour, either such as came to us out of England or others. And whereas some of our people were willing to go along with him, (though without any commission from us,) we had charged them to labour by all means to bring matters to a reconciliation, etc., and that they should be assured, that if they should do or attempt any thing against the rules of justice and good neighbourhood, they must be accountable therefor unto us at their return."'

Though La Tour did not get all he wanted, the permission given to private citizens to engage in his quarrel was soon taken advantage of; for while a pinnace of La Tour was lying in the harbour in May of the same year a certain Captain John Chaddock, "son of him who was governor of Bermuda, a goodly gentleman," came to endeavour to enlist colonists for the island of Trinidad. He found none inclined to go "but La Tour's men employed him to convoy the pinnace home from the danger of D'Aulnay's vessels and partly for other service against D'Aulnay there"; a prudent and diplomatic euphemism for engaging in hostile operations. Neither fighting nor profitable trade seems to have fallen to their lot, but they exchanged some of their armament for a pinnace of thirty tons, which blew up through the careless explosion of two barrels of powder in Boston harbour, where likewise Chaddock's reckless crew lost three men by drowning. "Notwithstanding this sad accident, so soon as they came on shore they fell to drinking and the Captain and his master being at supper and having

* Winthrop, ii., pp. 150-151.

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drank too much, the Captain began to speak evil of the country, swearing fearfully that we were a base heathen people. His master answered that he had no reason to say so, for it was the best place that ever he came in. Thereupon they drew and had to be parted; the Captain was fined £20 and committed to the Marshall till the fine was paid, but the Master was fined only 10 shillings and set at liberty. The Captain's fine was not collected but reserved for the decision of the Earl of Warwick, to whom the ship belonged and was a friend of the colony." However rigidly the law may have been enforced against Quakers, considerations of policy were not overlooked when other criminals were involved.

In the following year some other undesirable citizens, on their way to collect debt from La Tour, put in at Penobscot and were arrested by D'Aulnay's people, but one of the prisoners was also a creditor of D'Aulnay and therefore they were allowed to go on their way. La Tour entertained them handsomely and induced them, nothing loath, to join a party of twenty men he was sending to take Penobscot, for he understood the fort was weakly manned and in want of victuals. Instead of attacking the fort they attacked a farm house. Wannerton was killed. "Then other of Wannerton's company came in and took the house and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and they burnt the house and killed the cattle they found there, and so embarked themselves and came to Boston to La Tour."¹ This Wannerton had been a soldier and had lived very wickedly. But "he had of late come under some terrors, and motions of the spirit, by means of the preaching of the word, but he had shaken them off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued till God cut him off by this sudden execution.

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 218.

But this hostile action being led on by an Englishman of our jurisdiction, it was like to provoke D'Aulnay the more against us."

La Tour became a frequent visitor to Boston. He had preceded the marauding party which had returned with two prisoners, leaving behind one sinner the less. He now made to the Government direct his appeal for assistance, instead of engaging individual colonists in his hostile schemes. Winthrop explains some of the motives which influenced the elders to favour his cause against D'Aulnay, who was certainly the more reputable character of the two, and whose credentials from France were seemingly more valid. The elders evidently regarded as a mere English complication all considerations of international equities, and also the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, by which all the French possessions seized by Kirke, including l'Acadie, etc., were restored. They were not binding on the colonists, who had to consider merely the "point of charity" which obliged them to help a distressed neighbour, and the "point of prudence." The debate is given *in extenso* and explains the attitude taken by the colonial rulers on a distinctly international issue. "La Tour having been with the governor at Salem, and made known his condition to him, he was moved with compassion towards him, and appointed a meeting of the magistrates and elders at Boston this day. In opening La Tour's case, it appeared that the place where his fort was, had been purchased by his father of Sir William Alexander, and he had a free grant of it, and of all that part of New Scotland, under the great seal of Scotland, and another grant of a Scotch baronetcy under the same seal; and that himself and his father had continued in possession, etc., about thirty years, and that Port Royal was theirs also, until

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D'Aulnay had dispossessed him of it by force within these five years. Most of the magistrates and some of the elders were clear in the case that he was to be relieved, both in point of charity, as a distressed neighbour, and also in point of prudence, as thereby to root out, or at least weaken, an enemy or a dangerous neighbour. But because many of the elders were absent, and three or four of the magistrates dissented, it was agreed the rest of the elders should be called in, and that another meeting should be at Salem the next week.

"When they were met, the governor propounded the case to them, and it was brought to the two former questions. 1. Whether it were lawful for *true christians* to aid an *antichristian*.¹ 2. Whether it were safe for us in point of prudence. After much disputation, some of the magistrates and elders remaining unsatisfied, and the rest not willing to conclude anything in this case without a full consent, a third way was propounded, which all assented to, which was this, that a letter should be sent to D'Aulnay to this effect, viz: That by occasion of some commissions of his (which had come to our hands) to his captains to take our people, etc., and not knowing any just occasion we had given him, to know the reason thereof, and withal to demand satisfaction for the wrongs he had done us and our confederates in taking Penobscott, and our men and goods at Isle Sable, and threatening to make prize of our vessels if they came to Penobscott, etc., declaring withal that although our men, which went last year to aid La Tour, did it without any commission from us, or any counsel or act of permission of our state, yet if he made it appear to us that they had done him any wrong, (which yet we know not of,)

¹In the previous debate the distinction was between *Christian* and *Idolater*.

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we should be ready to do him justice; and requiring his express answer by the bearer, and expecting that he should call in all such commissions, etc. We subscribed the letter with the hands of eight of the magistrates, and directed it to Monsieur D'Aulnay, Knight, General for the King of France in L'Acady at Port Royal. We sent it in English, because he had written to our governour in French, but understanding that he had been formerly scrupulous to answer letters in English, we therefore gave the messenger a copy of it in French. We sent also in the letter a copy of an order published by the governor and council, whereby we forbade all our people to use any act of hostility, otherwise than in their own defence, towards French or Dutch, etc., till the next general court, etc. In our letter we also mentioned a course of trade our merchants had entered into with La Tour, and our resolution to maintain them in it."¹

¹ Winthrop, ii., 219.

Savage, the editor of Winthrop's *History*, makes the following reflections on the above incidents, suggested by additional evidence:

"Very inadequate ideas of the obligation of neutrality, or very slight regard for its laws, must be observable in the management of affairs here, in which the rival French governours felt any interest. For La Tour the greater number had engaged in actual war upon D'Aulnay in the former year, and had met no better success than their cause deserved. But the acts of injury or violence done by one of those strangers would have been imputed to the other, perhaps without hesitation, if reparation could by such course have been obtained. A curious document to illustrate this point was given me by the late Judge Davis:

"Whereas about two years since, Mous'r D'Aulnay under a pretence or color of commerce, did violently and injuriously take a possession out of the Hands and custody of the Agents and servts. of Edward Winslow, William Bradford, Thomas Prenc, and others their pttrs at Matchebiguatus, in Penobscot, together with divers and sundry goods to their great losse, even to the valew of five hundred pounds, or thereabout; and forasmuch as no satisfacco' hath ever been made and tendred by the sd Mouns'r D'Aulnay, for the sd Possession or goods or by any his Agents; The sd Edw. Winslow for himself and pttrs hath and doth

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The whole question had been thrashed out ten years before with the same non-committal conclusion and the same disregard to what to-day would be considered imperial interests or international law. In fact the charter, with its sweeping liberal provisions, took no cognisance of the inevitable complications which must occur when the colonists undertook independently to negotiate with foreigners and to create situations which might and did involve the mother country in war. Had the principle been recognised from the first that the fullest liberty over internal domestic affairs was

by these prnts fully surrender and make over his and their pp right and title not onely to the said possession of lands in Machebiguatus aforesaid, but to their fortificon, howsing, losse and damages, right and priviledges thereunto belonging, to Joh. Winthrop, junior, Esq., Serjant Major Edw. Gibbons, and Capt. Thomas Hawkins, all of Boston in New Engld, to them, their heires, associats, and assignes for ever. Allowing and investing them with all such lawfull power by force of Arms or otherwise to recover the said Possession, fortificacon, howsing, lands, goods, etc., to them the said Edw. William Thomas, and other their ptners at Machebiguatus aforesaid apptayning. And the same to have and to hold, occupy and enjoy, to them the said Joh. Winthrop, Esq., Serjant Major Gibbons, and Captaine Thomas Hawkins, their heires, Associats, and Assignes for ever, together with all such priviledges as apptayneth thereunto. In witnes whereof the said Edward Winslow hath put to his hand and seale the last of August, 1644.

"Per me, EDWARD WINSLOW, Gov'r at prnt of New Plym

"Witness hereunto

Herbert Pelham, (Seal—A pelican.)
John Browne.

"The seal is very perfect, the whole instrument in excellent preservation. One *very* remarkable thing about this transaction is, that the contemporary relation of the French act at Machias in 1633, by Gov. Winthrop, charges it as done by La Tour, and in the following year a reference to it uses the *same* commander's name.

"We can construe this deed of Winslow, at this late day, only as his desire to hold D'Aulnay responsible for the wrong done, so many years before by La Tour; and it might seem an unfair attempt to retaliate by force. Luckily, D'Aulnay was too strong, or we might have had to blush for the outrages, under *such* letters of marque, perpetrated by Major Gibbons, or Capt. Hawkins."—Winthrop, ii., 220-221.

not incompatible with control by the mother country over foreign relations, the final catastrophe might at any rate have been postponed, and, had it become inevitable, might have resulted in a peaceful solution. Looking back at the period under review, the history of both the English and French colonies affords evidence of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of enforcing regulations and laws of trade. No doubt there was a considerable element in the population of the New England colonies who, whether the elders approved or not, found intercourse with the French a relief from the tyranny of righteousness which oppressed them at home. But when La Tour's men landed in Boston their free habits shocked the more rigid of the inhabitants and got them into trouble. Winthrop was not altogether devoid of humour and tells us how the Frenchmen tried the patience of the constable, who, in endeavouring to preserve a just balance between his prerogatives of justice and mercy, puzzled the magistrate because "the constable was the occasion of all this in transgressing the bounds of his office, and that in six things. 1. In fetching a man out of his lodging that was asleep upon his bed, and without any warrant from authority. 2. In not putting a hook upon the stocks, nor setting some to guard them. 3. In laying hands upon the Frenchman that had opened the stocks, when he was gone and quiet, and no disturbance of the peace then appearing. 4. In carrying him to prison without warrant. 5. In delivering him out of prison without warrant. 6. In putting such a reproach upon a stranger and a gentleman, when there was no need, for he knew he would be forthcoming, and the magistrate would be at home that evening; but such are the fruits of ignorant and misguided zeal. It might have caused much blood and no good done by it, and justice

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might have had a more fair and safe way, if the constable had kept within his own bounds, and had not interfered upon the authority of the magistrate. But the magistrates thought not convenient to lay these things to the constable's charge before the assembly, but rather to admonish him for it in private, lest they should have discouraged and disheartened an honest officer, and given occasion to the offenders and their abettors to insult over him. The constable may restrain, and, if need be, imprison in the stocks, such as he sees disturbing the peace, but, when the affray is ended and the parties departed and in quiet, it is the office of the magistrate to make inquiry and to punish it, and the persons so wrongfully imprisoned by the constable might have had their action of false imprisonment against him."¹ There were Dogberries in New as well as in Old England.

In 1644, Madame La Tour appeared in Boston under very trying circumstances, which excited the same combative qualities which ultimately made her one of the heroines of history. She arrived in Boston "in a ship set forth from London by Alderman Berkley and Captain Bayley. They were bound for La Tour's fort, and set forth in the spring, but spent so much time in trading by the way, etc., as when they came at Cape Sable, Monsieur D'Aulnay came up to them in a ship from France, so as they durst not discover what they were, but stood along for Boston. The lady, being arrived, brought her action against them for delaying her so long at sea." She was given by the jury £2000 damages but when the cargo was sold it brought only £1100. The captain petitioned the court for his freight and wages; the merchants of Charlestown and Boston took opposite sides, the latter having claims against

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 231.

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La Tour which the damages would help to liquidate. The poor lady fought her case in appeal, and ultimately was forced to give £700 to three ships to carry her home. Her home was to be her grave, for it was in the following year she died after defending her fort against D'Aulnay.

When that crisis came, in which the Boston merchants were so deeply interested, La Tour, the governor, and assistants met to consider what lawfully might be done to save La Tour and his fortune. But as usual the decision was to write letters and despatches, to which D'Aulnay replied "in very high language."¹ After the loss of his wife and fort, "Monsieur La Tour stayed here (Boston) all the winter and thus far of the summer (1645) and having petitioned the court for aid against Monsieur D'Aulnay, and finding no hope to obtain help that way," went to Newfoundland to appeal to the sympathies and interest of Sir David Kirke. But all Sir David would do was to send him back to Boston in one of his ships. He disappeared from Boston for good on an escapade which Winthrop stigmatises as piracy, but explains it as what might be expected from a carnal man.

The negotiations with D'Aulnay, conducted through a Mons. Marie, supposed to be a priest in lay clothing, and Mons. Louis, and Mons. D'Aulnay, his secretary, were much facilitated by the disappearance of La Tour. There was charge and countercharge on both sides and discussion, in French and Latin, extending over days, and large damages claimed. But the result was that the magistrates, to appease D'Aulnay, admitted that Captain Hawkins and other volunteers had actually done wrong, and they therefore sent a small present to Mons. D'Aulnay in satisfaction of that, and in remission

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 303.

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of all injuries and demands and as preliminary to a final peace. "Accordingly we sent Mons. D'Aulnay by his commission a very fair new sedan (worth forty or fifty pounds where it was made, but of no use to us,) sent by the viceroy of Mexico to a lady his sister and taken in the West Indies by Captain Cromwell, and by him given to our governour." They were accompanied to the boats by a guard of musketeers and sailed away with a quarter cask of sack, some mutton; five guns from Boston, three from Charlestown, and five from Castle Island.

There was some friction after this settlement of past differences, but it arose from such flagrant poaching that though the aggrieved merchants "complained to the court for redress, and offered to set forth a good ship, to deal with some of D'Aulnay's vessels, the court thought it not safe nor expedient for us to begin a war upon D'Aulnay, seeing we had told him, that if ours did trade within his liberties, they should do it at their own peril. And though we judged it an injury to restrain the natives and others from trading, etc., (they being a free people) yet, it being a common practice of all civil nations, his seizure of our ships would be accounted lawful, and our letters of reprisal unjust. And besides there appeared an over-ruling providence in it, otherwise he could not have seized a ship so well fitted, nor could wise men have lost her so foolishly."¹

Pawning off an old sedan chair of no use to the giver was good business and charging an over-ruling providence with their sins may have been good theology.

The apathy displayed by England to the independent action of her northern colonies was not altogether indifference, but due to the force of circumstances, and

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 377.

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to the stirring events which had agitated England till the accession of William and Mary. Revolutions and sovereigns of such different tempers had succeeded one another with such rapidity and startling results that neither statesmen nor people could give much heed to what was happening, so unobtrusively, on the bleak American shore, without authority or even consultation with the home authorities.

The confederation of the New England colonies, for instance, occurred during the most acute crisis in all English history. These negotiations between Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Plymouth, began in 1638, and were completed in 1643, without any reference to the mother country.

Shortly after the first organisation of Massachusetts in 1633, the Privy Council made some inquiries from members of the New England Company, as to the conduct and policy of the company in America, the result of which showed that there was a spirit of dangerous independence being fostered in the northern colonies, which the home authorities thought to check by imposing the oath of allegiance on emigrants; and that the Pilgrims and Puritans were determined to enforce on immigrants the uniformity of Congregationalism as unflinchingly as the home Government was to impose Episcopal uniformity on recalcitrant Puritans, to its own undoing. To counteract colonial uniformity, emigrants were obliged to promise to use the prayer-book, and a royal commission under Laud was created to administer the affairs of the Colony. Restrictive measures would undoubtedly have been applied with Laudian energy and severity were Laudian methods not already hurrying the Stuarts to their doom.

The course of events in Britain had heretofore so favoured the aspirations of the colonists towards com-

plete independence that the Elders could hardly be blamed for attributing their success to Special Providential Interposition. Heaven seemed to side with the colonists, when Cromwell succeeded Charles I, and when William and Mary succeeded James II. Charles II had interested himself in colonial affairs and commenced to interfere. James II had gone further and had supplanted perfect self-government by appointing a royal governor over the colonies from the Delaware to Acadia. Better things were anticipated from a Dutchman, educated under Puritan traditions, than from an avowed Roman Catholic, with French affiliations. Nevertheless, William and Mary were averse to confirming the old charter.

The sixth decade of the seventeenth century was a period of sore distress for the mother country. It was depopulated and terrified by the plague. A large portion of London was swept away by the great fire. A war was waged against Holland to maintain England's position in the North Sea and protect her fisheries. But under Charles II, reckless as he was, more thought and attention, if not wisdom, were bestowed on colonial affairs than by Cromwell, or by Charles's successor. Special standing committees were appointed who collected volumes of information. They passed many resolutions, made endless recommendations regarding trade and the colonies, and then apparently passed out of existence after doing practically nothing. The same futile results generally followed the deliberations of the Committee of the Privy Council, if we may judge by Andrews's interesting study on *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*.¹ The committees, commissions, and councils resembled the royal commissions

¹ Johns Hopkins University Studies.

appointed to-day by the British Government to investigate and recommend, inasmuch as they are and were then composed of men of special technical knowledge drawn from every interest involved. But neither then nor to-day had they or have they any authority to act. To-day, however, their report is generally used by the party in power to formulate measures for parliamentary action. Then their recommendations seem to have ended in stilted phrases. There were able, enterprising merchants in those days as willing to give advice to Charles II as to Cromwell, men like Martin Noell and Thomas Povey. John Evelyn was one of the members of the Plantation Council of 1670, and John Locke the philosopher was the secretary-treasurer of the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1673. Clarendon, Charles's minister, was a statesman, who, had he lived in other times, might have framed a workable colonial system, for he had in his character the elements of a great constructive leader. His fall was due to his own faults and the storm of disasters which swept over the parent state, but which favoured the independence of New England. It is noteworthy that the Council of Plantations proposed, though they never acted on the project, to send a commission to New England to settle boundary disputes. The secret instructions, as drafted, required the commission to "inform the Council of the condition of the New England Colonies," and "whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty and declare for themselves —independent of the Crown."¹ The records of the Council show that the Spanish Main was a more attractive field for commerce than North America. To fight the hated Spaniard by robbing him of his treasure and his trade was more inviting than fishing in cold

¹ Andrews, p. 104.

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water or even dealing in costly furs. And the Government had its hands so full in resisting the Dutch and holding what England had won from Spain in the Caribbean Sea, that it had little zest for meddling in the religious and civil quarrels of the New England colonists and trying to settle territorial claims over snow-clad forests. And so New England was left almost unfettered to work out her own destiny and to mould, to perhaps a greater degree than we even conceive to-day, the destiny of the world. John Evelyn,¹ referring to the boundary commission above mentioned expresses the sensitive dread by the home authorities of irritating the colonies to the point of resistance. He says: "What we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that Colony was such that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; his Majesty, therefore commended this affair more expressly. We, therefore, thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence; and to be informed of their present posture and condition; some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that Colony, were utterly against. A letter was then read from Sir Thomas Modiford, Governor of Jamaica; and then the Council brake up."

In 1672 the Council of Plantations and that of Trade,

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., pp. 63-64.

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which had been distinct organisations for two years, were combined, and a comprehensive body of instructions was drawn up, and presented to Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, by John Locke the philosopher, for the guidance of the Council itself and the imperial officers abroad. These instructions formed the basis of the policy by which hereafter foreign dependencies, whether colonies or plantations, were to be governed, if it were to be possible to govern them at all. While Shaftesbury and Locke's instructions may have been the charter of England's future colonial policy, the Council of Trade and Plantations were not allowed to carry them out. Colonial mismanagement was inevitable under such central disorganisation; and therefore ample opportunity was given for effecting the separation from the parent stock, which was from the first unconsciously desired, and soon became the governing aspiration of the strongest spirits of the New World.

When England did conceive, though she never actually formulated, a distinct colonial policy, she certainly reserved to herself the right of managing the foreign affairs of her colonies. To-day her colonial children are demanding that they be consulted in all negotiations that affect their foreign or mercantile interests. But New England assumed that right without soliciting it.

The trouble really began as soon as England had leisure to think of some workable scheme of bringing her colonies into harmony with her own interests and her system of government. The rights given to the early emigrants, as shareholders in a commercial company, to govern themselves by their own elective officer in any way they might see fit, was not a policy, unless the motive was to throw off from the parent

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state undesirable social elements for good and all, and induce these dangerous fanatics to form independent states. The indolent resignation of the home Government certainly produced that impression. But no remedial measure could have been taken in favour of imperialism during the turmoil of the closing year of Charles I's reign and the Commonwealth. On the restoration of the Stuarts, interference with the untrammelled liberty claimed by the colonists began to be interposed. Formerly, under Laud, the religious practices were objected to; now it was the commercial and financial freedom of the colonists which was attacked. Act after act was passed by Parliament to regulate colonial trade and commerce in the interest of English mercantile and manufacturing interests, or, as was claimed, in furtherance of reciprocal interests. The colonists disregarded the regulation. Edward Randolph was sent out by the commissioner of customs to try and enforce the laws. The colonies had enjoyed half a century of non-interference by King and Parliament. Randolph reported such a stubborn, disloyal temper as prevailing generally, that the charter of Massachusetts was revoked in 1684, and Sir Edmund Andros was sent out to govern his Majesty's domain from the Delaware to the St. Croix, with the aid and advice of a nominated council. Then followed the Revolution; and a new charter, that of 1692, was granted and accepted by the colonial delegation to Great Britain. But the cancellation of the old patent and enforcement of the new charter marked the beginning of the end.

CHAPTER XI

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE

'THE position occupied by women in the neighbouring French and English colonies differed as widely as the habits of the colonists and the practices of their respective churches. The early French colonists were unaccompanied by their wives, but had no prejudice against allying themselves with Indian women. The Puritans, on the other hand, crossed the ocean with their households. But the retiring rôle assigned to the women in New England was in striking contrast to the prominent part played by the few women in the French Colony. Louis Hébert, when he brought his family over in 1617, nine years after the founding of Quebec, in a petition to the Duc de Ventadour, states that he "is the head of the first French family which came to live in the country, though it has been inhabited since the beginning of the century; that he brought with him all his goods and chattels from Paris, where he leaves relations and friends, in order to lay the foundation of a Christian colony," and therefore he claims certain considerations. And up to Kirke's conquest, in 1629, there are records of only two other families immigrating, those of Guillaume Couillard and Abraham Martin. Later on in the history of the Colony, the supply of marriageable girls was so scarce that they had to be imported with the express purpose of sup-

colonists with wives. Mlle. Mance, one of the founders of the Montreal Company, brought over "virtuous girls" to Montreal. In 1654, the Queen sent "quite a number of very honest girls to Canada under the care of a nun of Quimper." In 1670 the Archbishop of Rouen was instructed to "use his influence to get girls to go voluntarily to Canada."¹ Colbert in the same year begs de Guenet, a merchant of Rouen, to try to induce two girls from each parish to go in search of husbands in Canada; and Frontenac assures Colbert that if 150 girls a year were shipped they would readily find husbands. The girls shipped to Canada were chosen with more care as to their morals than those who were sent to the Antilles. While of course the Church was averse to illegitimate relations of the sexes, the authorities, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the early days of French colonisation, encouraged, by advice, the marriage of Frenchmen with Indian squaws. Left-handed marriages were frequent, but marriages between French and Indians, with the blessing of the Church, were so few that four only are recorded. The small number of marriages may be judged by the correspondingly small number of baptisms. Between 1621 and 1629 there seem to have been only two marriages and six baptisms. The first marriage *célébré avec les cérémonies ordinaires*² was that of Hébert's eldest daughter to Etienne Jonquet, in 1617. But it was fruitless, for both died prematurely. The first registered wedding, that of Guillemette, Hébert's second daughter, to Guillaume Couillard, took place, as Ferland points out, two and a half months after the first marriage celebrated in New England, that of

¹Archæological Collection. Folio 15 and 16, Salone, *La Colonisation*, p. 160.

²Abbé Ferland, *Registres de Notre Dame de Québec*, p. 10.

Edwin Winslow to Susan White, a marriage which caused much comment in England and even political complications under Archbishop Laud, because performed before the civil magistrate and without ecclesiastical ceremony and benediction. When Champlain left Canada, after turning over to David Kirke Quebec and its scanty stores, all the women of the colony remained, but they numbered only five. They were the Widow Hébert, who was already re-married to Guillaume Hubon; her daughter, Marie Langlois, married to Jean Juchereau; Guillemette Couillard, the wife of Abraham Martin, a noted pilot of the day, whose name is immortalised in the Plains of Abraham; and two women of lesser note, not remembered by name. Authentic proof of the slow growth of the population is derived from the number of baptisms recorded in the register of Notre Dame de Québec, which has been kept and preserved since the year 1621. Between 1621 and 1661 there were only 674 children christened in the only populated portion of Canada—Quebec and its surrounding country—or an average of less than seventeen per annum, despite the amazing fecundity of the French Canadian. It speaks, however, for the chastity of the population that only one of these was illegitimate. There were probably few half-breeds, as the resident Indians in the vicinity of Quebec were in missions or under strict clerical control. Of course, the population at these dates was small compared with that of New England, for in 1620 that of Quebec, which constituted the whole of the sedentary inhabitants of New France, was only sixty persons. This had increased to 2500 by 1663, of whom about 800 were in Quebec and its neighbourhood.¹ In that year about

¹ *The Census of Canada, 1870-71*, has an historical introduction on the censuses.

300 immigrants for the New World were embarked from La Rochelle, of whom about seventy-five were destined for Newfoundland. Of those looking forward to Canada as a home, sixty died on the voyage and 150 arrived at destination, including thirty-five marriageable girls in search of husbands.

When we compare the social state of the French Colony with that of the English colonists, especially the New England colonists, we come face to face with the radical difference of motive in which the opposing colonies originated. The writer of the *Brief Relation of the State of New England* says: "New England differs from other foreign plantations in respect to the grounds and motives inducing the first planters to remove into that American desert. Other plantations were built upon worldly interests: New England upon that which is purely religious." After describing the divergent views between the nonconformists and the prelatists, and the liberal charter granted by King James in 1620, the writer adds: "The report of this charter did encourage many deserving persons to transplant themselves and their families to New England. Gentlemen and ancient and worshipful families, ministers of the gospel, then of great fame here in England, tradesmen, artificers, and planters, to the number of about 14,000, did in twelve years' time go thither."

Statistics are incomplete of the number of families which immigrated to Plymouth and the Bay, but such data as we have confirm the determination of the Pilgrims to make the New World their permanent home. The passengers in the *Mayflower* who came over in 1620 consisted of seventy-five men and twenty-nine women. The *Fortune*, which brought over others in 1621, carried twenty-nine men and one woman. The *Ann and Little James* in 1623 had on board thirty-

five men and nine women. The exact number of those who came to the Bay State with Endicott, and two years later with Winthrop, has not been preserved. Winthrop tells us that in 1632 the *Griffin* brought over two hundred passengers, including men of learning like Cotton and Hooker, and men of wealth like Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate). Drake, in his *Founders of New England*, has collected the passenger lists of a number of vessels sailing for New England subsequent to that date. Up to 1634 the records are few; thereafter they seem to be more complete. The *Christian* in 1634 carried twenty-four men and only four women; and the *Planter* in the same year embarked eight men and two women. But the *Hopewell* in 1623 had on board six men, four women, and seventeen children; and on board the *Planter* of that same year there were twenty-eight men and fourteen women. The *Hopewell* on her next voyage brought out eight men, six women, and fifteen boys and girls; and the *Planter* nine men, four women, and five children. The *Elizabeth* carried out the Bates family of father, mother, five children, and two servants. The *Planter* seems to have been a favourite ship, for on her next voyage she booked nine men and fourteen women, against the *Hopewell* with eight men and three women. And thus in fair proportions men, women, and children came over to people New England. Two departures from this distribution of the adult sexes seem to have been made when, in 1642, Winthrop records that the ship *Seabright* brought over twenty children and some other passengers, the inference being that the children were not members of the family of those on board, but were the first importation of the waifs and strays of English cities. A large importation on board the *John and Sarah*, in 1652, unaccompanied by their wives and

families, consisted of Scotch prisoners, taken probably by Cromwell in the battle of Dunbar. Two hundred and seventy-two were shipped. How many arrived is not stated.

The women accompanied by their husbands were as eager as the men to face the unknown dangers and exigencies of the new life in the wilderness. These were so hazardous and fatal that "in two or three months' time," Bradford tells us, "half of the passengers by the *Mayflower* died, so that of a hundred and odd persons scarce fifty remained, and of these, in the time of most distress, there were but six or seven sound persons." The population of the neighbouring French and English colonies, during the formative periods of their existence, grew in reverse rates of speed. The increase of the English colonies was rapid at first and then fell off; that of New France was insignificant during the first quarter-century.

Up to the period of the Commonwealth the strongest religious motives induced both the Puritans and the Separatists to flee from England; self-interest was a subsidiary motive. The stories related by the Jesuits of their success in converting the aborigines had sufficient influence on a small group of religious people to cause them to emigrate to New France, notably on the group of religious enthusiasts which first peopled the Island of Montreal. But the mundane inducements which were offered to Frenchmen or women to face the horrors of the sea voyage and the terrors of the wilderness were very slight. It is not, therefore, surprising that, when the census of 1663 was taken, the population of New France was only 2500 inhabitants.

Josselyn, in his *Two Voyages to New England*, published in 1665, says: "It is published in print that there are not much less than 10,000 souls, English,

Scotch, and Irish, in New England." The increase of population was, however, proportionately greater before the Commonwealth than after, as the religious motive was subsequently weaker. Hutchinson says that "in 1640 the importation of settlers now ceased. They, who then professed to be able to give the best account, say that in 298 ships, which were the whole number from the beginning of the colony, there arrived 21,200 passengers, men, women, and children, perhaps about 4000 families, since which more people have removed out of New England to other parts of the world than have come from other parts to it, and the number of families to this day (1670) in the four Governments may be supposed to be less, rather than more, than the natural increase of 4000."¹ Hutchinson adds: "This year (1641) afforded not so pleasing a prospect. As soon as the country ceased to be necessary as an asylum for an oppressed people in England, some of those who had been the greatest benefactors there not only discouraged any further transportation, but endeavored to induce such as had gone over to remove." He comments on what might have happened had the political changes in England occurred six or seven years before they did.

The sex of the emigrants really denoted the different character of the rival colonies. The French who were carried over to Canada at first, and for many years, were exclusively male employees of a trading company. They came and went and took no interest in the Colony as a home land, or became too enamoured of the forest life to settle down as traders in the town or farmers in the country. The New England Separatists of Ply-

¹ All the early estimates of the New England population are guess-work and less reliable than those made officially of the people of New France.

mouth, and the Puritans of the Bay, brought their families with them, and devoted their energies exclusively to building homes, organising civil government, and establishing religious communities on the same general principles as their civil government. So sedentary were they that they had been already twenty-five years on the coast before they even discovered the White Mountains; and their mode of life as well as their religious opinions made the red men's habits extremely obnoxious to them. By contrast, Champlain before his second year of residence had, in company with his Indian allies, penetrated to the Mohawk country of New York, and his eighth year as Governor was spent among the Hurons on the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, after exploring the Ottawa and crossing Lake Ontario to fight the Iroquois in the State of New York. The English colonists, besides being essentially domestic, when they were settled, obeyed their national instincts by engaging actively in foreign commerce. The French colonists, being supported by a fur-trading company, wandered over the forests instead of sailing over the sea, and led adventurous lives inimical to domesticity, in friendly contact with the savages who supplied them with the only article of trade they dealt in. Circumstances, as well as evident inclination, gave different directions to the members of the two groups, and one result was that the home, with family influence as the inspiration, was from the first the keynote of New England life; while romance and imagination and unrest, excited by the wonderful unrolling of the great and ever greater West, produced a type of men in New France the very opposite of the sedentary Puritans of the coast.

But if there were not many women in New France, those who came over exerted a more conspicuous, if

not a more powerful influence than their sisters under the Puritan régime. Mark Pattison's estimate of the status of Puritan women may have been too sweeping. He was writing of John Milton and his wife and not of John Winthrop and his wife, whose letters are as true and touching as ever passed between loving hearts, and could not have been exchanged except between beings whose confidence extended to all the concerns of life, private and public. Nevertheless, it is true that in the estimation of Milton, as of most men endowed with Calvinistic and Puritan ideas, "women were a creation of an inferior and subordinate class. Man was the first cause of God's creation, and woman was there to minister to his noble being. The Puritans had thrown off chivalry as being the parent of Catholicism, and had replaced it by the Hebrew idea of the subjugation and the seclusion of women." This estimate of woman's sphere lasted far beyond the Puritan times, for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu considered, perhaps in a vein of sarcasm, "that God and nature have thrown us into an inferior rank; we are a lower part of creation, and every woman who suffers her vanity and folly to deny this, rebels against the laws of the Creator and the indisputable order of nature." The Puritan woman was doubtless a good housewife, and a devoted, pious mother, who brought up her children in the fear of God and of their father. She certainly made them masterful and sterling men. But whatever influence these women may have exerted upon their husbands, behind doors, they did not obtrude themselves in public, and played no conspicuous part in political life. In the early memoirs the most conspicuous women were religious fanatics like Mrs. Hutchinson and the Quakers, or else hysterical maniacs like the possessed girls, or the unfortunate witches of

the Salem tragedy. Nevertheless, despite the seclusion which was thought to be so appropriate in a woman, Anne Bradstreet, the daughter of Governor Dudley, secured contemporary fame as a poetess, though she married at sixteen and was the mother of eight children. It has never been easy to define the exact position of woman in the Christian Church, more especially if Paul's advice is considered by the theologians as binding for all time. In New England the trouble growing out of Mrs. Hutchinson's theological vagaries brought up the question in a concrete shape, but it was nevertheless decided, as so many other doubtful points have to be determined, by a compromise. A synod of elders in 1637 decreed "that they (women) might some few gather to pray and edify one another, yet such an assemblage as was then in practice in Boston, where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetical way by resolving questions of doctrine and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercises, was agreed to be discreditable and without rule."¹

In the Puritan ecclesiastical system at any rate there was no such sphere assigned to woman as in the Roman Catholic Church. There, as cloistered nuns, they could by privation, prayer, and absolute purity accumulate in the treasury of the saints a surplus of good works to be disposed of by the Church as compensation for the shortcomings of repentant sinners in this wicked world, or the payment of purgatorial fines. Or, as members of teaching and nursing orders, they could exercise some of the very highest faculties of the sex. It was in performing these beneficent functions that, in the early colonial days of New France, women played a very important and prominent part.

¹ Winthrop, i., p. 287.

The distressing stories told by the Jesuits of the poverty, ignorance, and superstition of the Indians, and of their susceptibility to religious teaching touched many a heart in France. But none responded more ardently and practically to the appeals of the *Relations* than two women of family: Marie de Vignerod (Madame de Comballet, Duchesse d'Aiguillon, the niece of the great Cardinal), and Madame de la Peltrie. The Duchess, like other religious women of the age, not only looked on the monastic life as the consummation of perfect piety, but had gone further and actually assumed, as a novice, the garb of the Carmelites. It is supposed that her uncle disapproved of the step, and that she at his solicitation returned to the world. But whether that be so or not, she continued to be animated by fervent zeal, and is said to have sought advice from her special director, Saint Vincent de Paul, as to the best method of carrying her convictions into practice. As Madame de Comballet, she had corresponded in 1636 with Father le Jeune on the subject of a hospital in Quebec. The enterprise took shape in the following year under her auspices and at her charge, for she gave 22,400 livres as an endowment. A temporary building had already been erected under the supervision of the Jesuit Fathers on the twelve acres granted her by the Company, before the duty of filling this dangerous mission was assumed, in 1639, by nursing nuns of the Augustine Order of the Mercy of Jesus. Three delicate women were found willing to sacrifice themselves. Mère de Saint Ignace, the Mother Superior, was only twenty-nine years old, and was a sufferer herself from ill-health, but a woman of indomitable courage and energy. Her companions were Mère de Saint Bernard, a quiet, contemplative woman, and Mère de Saint Bonaventure, a gentle creature who had assumed the



Madame de la Peitrie (Marie Madeleine de Chauvigny).

habit of a nun at eighteen years of age, and had never left her cloister. If meekness, tenderness, and charity are the most potent agents for influencing suffering and dying men, whether savage or civilised, these three women, whose only sense of strength came from the reliance on Divine aid, were well equipped for their noble mission.

But if the need of hospital accommodation and good nursing was being keenly felt, hardly less urgent was the need of some provision for female education. This also the devout women of France were prepared to furnish without drawing on the Company in the Colony or in France. When Saint Angèle at Bresse, in 1537, was first moved to erect an order of women whose vocation should be to relieve distress and teach the ignorant, she conceived that this object could be best accomplished by the members living singly in private houses. Ere-long, however, the tendency towards association became irresistible, and her first followers formed themselves into communities of cloistered nuns, allied to the Order of St. Augustine, though their rules did not enforce absolute seclusion, as this would have interfered with the fulfilment of their founder's charitable objects. They adopted the name, and were inspired by the example, of the martyr virgin, St. Ursula. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that, under the instigation of Madame de Ste. Beauve, the Order opened its convent doors to boarders seeking education, and adopted the rules by which the Ursulines are still governed. The Order was therefore in the first ardour of its re-creation when Madame de la Peltre was inspired, by Father le Jeune's glowing accounts of the spiritual receptivity of the Indians, to devote her life to the education of the girls. It was by a fortunate and strange coincidence that she was brought into

intercourse, through Father Coudran, General of the Order, with that holy man whom all Christians have agreed to canonise, St. Vincent de Paul, and with another woman, fired by as ardent zeal as herself, though of a less explosive temperament, Mère de l'Incarnation. Mère Marie was a type of woman which could hardly be produced under Puritan influence or on English soil. As a child she dreamed and saw visions of the Saviour in human form embracing her. She married at seventeen, lost her husband at the age of nineteen; devoted her son to the service of the Church, and remained in the world until he was twelve. She was converted, and resolved never to remarry. In coming to this resolution she acted in response to her inclinations, as well as to a call which she received when in a state of unconscious ecstasy (or catalepsy). After taking the veil she was moved in the spirit to make Canada the scene of her labours, and in a vision saw as her companion a woman, whom she afterwards recognised as Madame de la Peltrie, when she came to the convent to enlist recruits for New France. Her aspirations were realised, and she became the foundress of the Ursuline Order in Canada. In Quebec she was elected and re-elected Superior of the Convent of the Ursulines until her death in 1671. Not only does her influence still pervade the Order, but she left an imperishable record in her letters which have been roughly divided into religious and secular, though a vein of mystical devotion runs through all she wrote. Most of the letters were addressed to her son, who entered the priesthood and never saw his mother again after her departure for Canada. She wrote in purest French, and even her rhapsodies are so much less unintelligible than the style of writing usually adopted by mystics, that one of her biographers, the famous historian

Charlevoix, says: "All the arts and sciences use their special phraseology, and therefore there is no reason why the mystical state should not possess a vocabulary of its own, recognised by the usage of all the saints. Nevertheless, the Mère de l'Incarnation thought not proper to use it, and therefore her writings are the more intelligible to all the world."

It is difficult for Protestants, or for any heretics living amidst the distractions of every-day life, to understand or properly value the state of mind which is engendered by such intense continuous mental direction of thought and emotion, as women and men of high intellectual culture and acute imagination, like Mère Marie or Saint Francis d'Assisi, concentrate on the sufferings of Christ. Roman Catholic authorities have found it difficult to draw the line between heretical quietism and orthodox mysticism. The personality, associations, and the influence bearing on the individual under discussion must often have had a bearing on the decision as to his or her deviation from strict orthodoxy. And such personal considerations may have tended to confer on Mère Marie the well-deserved veneration of her contemporaries and of posterity, despite her eccentricities, which certainly verged dangerously on quietism.

Her son, Dom Martin, published in 1686 his mother's *Méditations et Retraites*, and prefaced the book with an explanation of the ecstatic state of the mystics. The description makes yet more contradictory the emotional and practical elements in the character of this extraordinary woman, who was a clear-headed, decisive, active administrator of a large educational establishment, and watched and commented wisely on all that passed outside the walls of her convent; and yet dreamed dreams and saw visions.

These two women, Mère Marie and Madame de la Peltrie, as lay coadjutor, were not only conspicuous but influential in New France for a quarter of a century. Madame de la Peltrie appears repeatedly in the annals of the time. She built a house as nearly within the precincts of the Ursuline nunnery proper as their rules allowed. When Bishop Laval came to Quebec in 1659 under the title of Bishop of Petrea, *in partibus infidelium*, but with the powers of a Vicar Apostolic, there was not even a presbytery to accommodate him and the three secular priests who accompanied him. He, evidently foreseeing the inevitable conflict which must arise between himself and the civil officials, did not take up his abode in the château, and not caring to ally himself too closely with the Jesuits, accepted the hospitality of their college for but a few days, or until a room was prepared for him in the hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu. There he remained for three months. But the hospital being crowded, more especially after the arrival in September of a plague ship with its fever-stricken passengers bound for Montreal, he removed with his three priests to Madame de la Peltrie's house, which stood near the corner of the present Garden and Donnacona streets. In order to obey the canons of the Order, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the Superior, had to erect a fence to shut off the Bishop's house and garden from the nunnery grounds. The Bishop paid Madame de la Peltrie 200 livres a year rent, and kept the house for two years. Ultimately he bought a small house, probably on the site of the present office of the *Fabrique*, the business headquarters of the diocese, and there he and his clergy lived under the rule of life which he had practised in Mons. de Bernière's Hermitage at Caen. Mons. de Bernière was Madame de la Peltrie's second husband, whom she married, as wife





in name only, to escape the importunities of her relations. He was one of those laymen, in that age of extremes, who supported small communities of religious persons, laymen and clerics. Without taking ecclesiastical vows, he and the inmates of the Hermitage lived under almost as rigid, self-imposed restrictions as cloistered monks. Two personages who play a very prominent part in early Canadian history were members of Bernière's family. Bishop Laval, after he had been archdeacon of Évreux, was for four years an inmate in the Hermitage, and there became acquainted with a knight, Mons. de Mezy, a layman, who was subsequently through the Bishop's influence appointed Governor of New France after the Bishop had quarrelled with two gubernatorial predecessors in office. The Bishop's choice, as already told, was unfortunate, for his nominee proved even more untractable than did Governors d'Argenson and d'Avaugour. One of the secular clergy who accompanied Monsieur Laval to Canada was Mons. Henri de Bernière, a nephew of Madame de Bernière's husband, who, however, had died very shortly after Laval's arrival in Canada. Under such circumstances, had the Bishop written his autobiography with as minute and candid reports of conversations, as the writers of his own age were in the habit of doing, and had he incorporated in his personal memoirs the conversations between the widow and her husband's friend, the memoir would have given a curious insight into the workings of the human mind under the artificial conditions which controlled religious thought in those days. Madame de la Peltre appears repeatedly in the Journal of the Jesuits as foremost in every effort to win the Indian girls from savagery; and when another woman as enthusiastic as herself, Mlle. Mance, and her assist-

ants, came out to Canada as a forerunner of the Sieur de Maisonneuve, to found Montreal (Ville Marie), Madame de la Peltrie not only treated hospitably these intruders, who were not welcomed by the Quebec authorities, but she even joined the new colony and faced the dangers and hardships of that frontier post for two years, exposed to constant risk of attack from the Iroquois. She remained with Mlle. Mance till the Montreal colony had received accessions of women as well as men. Then she returned to her home and her dear friends in the Ursuline Convent in Quebec.

Mlle. de Mance was a woman of a somewhat similar type, though probably less impulsive and better balanced than Madame de la Peltrie. Her career is as illustrative of the influence and position of women in the early colonial days as that of Madame de la Peltrie.

Montreal was founded by a distinctly religious association, the "Société de Notre Dame de Montreal." The intention was that the leaders of the colony should be celibates. This qualification was possessed by Captain Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve, who was selected to command the fighting men and defend the post against the hostile Iroquois. But just as the expedition was about to sail, a woman who had been inspired by the stories of the Canadian mission as told by the Jesuits, presented herself as a volunteer. She offered to take charge of the commissariat of the expedition and to nurse the sick and wounded. She was Mademoiselle Mance, who like other devoutly enthusiastic persons, believed herself definitely called to enter the missionary field, and having entered it never for a moment wavered or looked back. She had independent means, and was also the almoner of Madame de Bullion, a wealthy woman who had always

taken a lively interest in the Colony. In the hour of the Colony's greatest need she advanced money for its support and defence; helped to build the Hôtel-Dieu with Madame de Bullion's financial aid, and succeeded in supporting it and the hospital nuns. In 1658 she returned to France to advocate the reorganisation of the society, to collect funds for her hospital, and bring back as nurses nuns of the Hospitalières de Saint Joseph, in all of which she succeeded. She ended her active life peacefully in 1673, after having shared every danger which during the previous thirty years had threatened the destruction of the Colony. She had seen the little band of some thirty or forty men whom she, as one of three or four women, accompanied to Montreal in the capacity of nurse and house-keeper, grow, in no small degree through her business ability, into a town of 1500 souls; and she had realised her hope that, in the colony, there should be representatives of the three members of the holy family, namely: priests, in the persons of the Sulpicians, exercising civil as well as ecclesiastical authority, consecrated to Jesus; hospital nuns, consecrated to Joseph; and teaching nuns, consecrated to Mary.

These three women followed one another to the grave in consecutive years, Madame de la Peltre in 1671, Mlle. Mance in 1672, and Mère Marie de l'Incarnation in 1673.

In 1653 the Montreal Company shipped some hundred men to their colony. These men were selected from many trades, and were not independent haphazard emigrants, such as voluntarily joined the communities of the Bay and Plymouth.¹ With them were

¹ In the list we find 3 surgeons (also doubtless barbers), 12 carpenters, 2 bakers, 1 confectioner, 1 brewer, 1 cooper, 1 tinsmith, 4 weavers, 1 tailor, 1 hatter, 3 cobblers, 1 cutler, 2 armourers, 3 masons, 1 stone-cutter,

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three women, one of whom was Mademoiselle Marguerite Bourgeois.

She was an example of a type of women not uncommon then or now, in whom religious fervour did not altogether obliterate natural instincts. She was from childhood susceptible to religious impressions, and inclined to recognise in subsequent events the realisation of prophetic forecasts communicated during childhood in dreams. More than once she applied for admission into the strictest of all the monastic orders, that of the Carmelite nuns, but was rejected. Why? —is not made clear by her biographer. There was a naturalness about the girl which may have frightened the religious ladies, even as it brought her under the suspicion of M. and Madame Le Coq of Nantes, to whose care she had been recommended, when awaiting the sailing of the ship for Canada. The prim lady was shocked at first meeting her accompanied by a young man, also bound for Canada, whose acquaintance she had made on the Loire boat.

Refused admission to a convent as a cloistered nun, she created for herself a more congenial career by volunteering to go with Maisonneuve to his colony at the foot of Mont-Réal. When she arrived at the village of Ville Marie, she found its forty houses laid out strategically and all occupied by armed colonists, ready by night and day to resist the attack of the Iroquois. Mademoiselle Mance had nearly completed her hospital, into which she moved the year following. In the fort, corresponding to Champlain's *habitation* at Quebec, which had at first accommodated all the settlers who came out with Maisonneuve, there remained only the Governor himself, d'Aillebout, and

4 roofers, 2 furniture makers, 1 toolmaker and sharpener, 1 nailer, 1 paver, 60 labourers, of whom several were sawyers.

his family; and Major Closse, who commanded the garrison of sixty-three men. Their duty was to defend the labourers in the field from surprise by the savages. There Mlle. Bourgeois was received as a welcome guest. She undertook to teach the children of Ville Marie and engage in whatever useful work might offer. She assisted Mlle. Mance. She helped in tending the sick; gathered the children around her in a deserted out-house, and acted as sacristan to the parish church. She soon attracted other girls, to assist in her charitable work. Thrice she crossed the ocean in search of recruits, once working her passage as a nurse. She organised the girls who joined her into the secular Order of the Congregation,—their self-imposed vows kept as religiously as though publicly made before the Church. The idea of the Order of the "Filles de la Cenrégation" originated in a legend that Jesus Christ, before his ascension, organised such a Congregation, the principal members of which were his friends Mary and Martha, and his mother Mary. Mary represented the contemplative and devotional element of religious life, Martha the active, and his mother the combination of all virtues, expressing itself in the motherly function of the religious training of the race. As the idea of motherhood is opposed to asceticism Sœur Bourgeois objected to Bishop Saint Vallier's scheme of incorporating her girls into the Order of the Ursulines, a semi-cloistered teaching body. She gained her point, and just before her death she had the satisfaction of seeing her devoted followers received as nuns, by solemn vows, as a distinct non-cloistered order. She herself was in the infirmary, and had insisted on resigning the post of Superior, by reason of ill-health.

In fact she had for some time been under acute mental anxiety through believing in the hallucinations

of one of the sisters. This hysterical girl was visited by the ghost of a departed member of the community, who charged the late Superior of living in mortal sin. The vision was communicated to Sœur Bourgeois, who treated it lightly. But two months afterward the same girl saw the same ghost, who repeated the charge, and cautioned the community that it was the last opportunity she would have of warning them, as she was about to pass from purgatory into paradise. The second message from the spirit world was communicated to the Superior and unhinged her reason. She believed herself damned. She had intervals of mental relief, but the last ten years of her useful life were clouded by this sad misgiving. When women's imaginations are fed on legendary lore, and are gloating continually on the supernatural, the wonder is that their mental balance is not oftener disturbed. In her case the shock came when she was approaching the age of threescore years and ten, and under acute mental strain, in arguing with the ecclesiastical authorities about the constitution of her Order.

The miraculous element entered into her death scene. The mistress of the novices was dying; she had received extreme unction, and the Sisters were watching the passing of the Sister. Sœur Bourgeois, in her infirmary, was told of the event. Regretting that a young woman should die and she with her infirmities live, she uttered a prayer that the Sœur Sainte Ange be saved and that she be taken. The sacrifice was accepted by the Deity. The victim died within a fortnight and by divine grace Sœur Sainte Ange was restored to health. These dying scenes, in their mystical atmosphere, terminated a life of intense practical energy. The poor girl, without money or influence, who had almost forced herself on Maisonneuve, and shared with

the crew the hardships of the voyage, had by her perseverance and religious enthusiasm organised during her lifetime schools and missions over the whole colony.

The education was not of a high order from the purely intellectual point of view, but the hallowing example of such women became one of the strongest influences in securing to the Church its hold over the people: and it can hardly be contradicted that the group of good women in Canada, whether they had taken vows or were free to pursue their own course, like Madame de la Peltre, Mlle. Mance, and Margaret Bourgeois, furnished a leaven of unselfishness and purity which elevated the social life of the whole Colony. The womanhood of New England was forbidden by social habits and religious prejudice from exerting its influence in public, but within doors it was as potent, if not more so, in building up the national character.

While a few Canadian women were conspicuous in the religious sphere, the sex at large, being French, must have taken their full share in the conduct of business, nor can they have been restrained from exerting in public their influences even in politics. It so happened, however, that the early governors were bachelors, or were unattended by their wives; and therefore there was no gaiety in the very primitive fort which served as the Governor's residence. Life in the château was modest and simple enough in Champlain's time, and was regulated with almost monastic severity, especially during his later years, when the Jesuits had undisputed ascendancy over his conscience and presumably over his conduct. He forbade all idle talk at meals, and prevented it by imitating the monastic rule of having a

* These details about the Sœur Bourgeois are derived from *Margaret Bourgeois*—a memoir published in Montreal, 1831, from original documents, by M. Jean Henri August Roux.

book of secular history read at breakfast, and the Lives of the Saints at supper. At morning, noon, and evening the bell summoned the household to prayers. During a short interval of four years, Madame Champlain, as already related, shared his uncomfortable quarters in Quebec. For twelve years previously husband and wife had met only after long intervals of separation; for, except while he was detained in 1612-1613 in France for twenty-one months, greetings and partings followed all too closely until the brave woman decided to share her husband's hardships, and bury herself in the forests and snows of Canada, with no female society but Madame Hébert and her daughter and her own three waiting-women.

After her husband's death, Madame Champlain founded an Ursuline convent at Meaux, into which she retired, and the *Chroniques de l'Ordre des Ursulines* ("Vie de Marie Hélène Bouillé") gives a story of a life drawn after the fashion of the saints. She had abandoned the faith of her father and adopted that of her husband early in her married life. She succeeded in persuading her brother to return to the ancient faith, and, when in Canada, was probably an example of piety and zeal. But her days must have been spent, in part at least, in some other occupation than catechising Indian children in their own tongue, which she is said to have learned, and nursing sick squaws. What she did towards beautifying her rooms in the *habitation*, or towards infusing a ray of refinement into the coarse habits of the trappers, soldiers, masons, and carpenters of the fort; to what extent she shared her husband's labours; whether she accompanied him in his shorter journeys and helped him in his clerical work—all these are domestic details which, if narrated,

would have shed some rays of the sunshine of human interest over those dreary years of the Colony's history. Champlain's own nobility of character is displayed in nothing more conspicuously than in his own self-effacement and his reticence regarding his own doings. We readily understand, therefore, that his native refinement would revolt against any parade of his wife's virtues and good deeds. In any case, between the spleen or the modesty of the priestly historian and the chivalry of the soldier chronicler, all that we know is that Madame Champlain landed in Canada in 1620, and that she re-embarked in August, 1624.

Champlain's successor as Governor was a soldier of some renown, and, being a Knight of Malta, he was a celibate and on that account doubly acceptable to the clergy. During his long reign the rule of life within the château was as strict as in Champlain's later years; and, as the black robes were very intimate at the château, his suite must have been compelled to observe a like restraint and women must have found its atmosphere uncongenial. Montmagny was followed by Monsieur d'Aillebout, who, with his wife and daughters, had come out in 1643 to join the Montreal colony, and his affiliations had therefore been with the rival society of Montreal. He was an austere man of no brilliancy, but society at Quebec in the winter of 1648-9 was gayer than usual, for the vice-regal court was at last presided over by a lady—Madame d'Aillebout. Her sister, Madame Philippine¹ de Boulogne, had accompanied her from Montreal, but at once entered the Ursuline convent as a novice. The Governor's wife, as devoutly disposed towards a religious life as her sister, obtained her husband's consent to enter the convent, but returned to the world after a month's experience. On

¹ *Les Ursulines de Quebec*, vol. i., p. 147.

his death in 1660 she tried the experiment¹ again, but after a short novitiate she abandoned it; nevertheless she was proof, so rumour says, against the matrimonial attacks of two official suitors. We can picture her to ourselves as one of those charming, lively, sympathetic women who can be sincerely and actively religious without being austere; and gay without being frivolous.

The gubernatorial term had been fixed at three years, and therefore d'Aillebout vacated office in 1651. He was succeeded by Jean de Lauzon, whose wife, Marie Gaudert, had died before his coming to Canada, but had left three sons who accompanied their father. Two married Canadian girls of property. But ill-luck pursued the family and popular ill-favour marked the father's administration; and therefore the château was not lively while de Lauzon was Governor, nor yet while Vicomte d'Argenson and M. d'Avougour, or M. de Mezy, who were the next appointees, occupied it without *châtelaines*. All three being in constant antagonism with the Church were by force shunned by the faithful of both sexes.

With the assumption by the King in 1663 of the actual management of the Colony, there was established in Quebec a miniature court, and the garrison of regular troops introduced the lax moral habits of military life. Thus the strict rule of the early Jesuit period passed, and the Church lost some of its control over the people. Though Governor de Courcelle and his great successor, Frontenac, were unaccompanied by their wives, the castle of St. Louis never again assumed the aspect of a monastery, but was the scene of such festivity and revelry as at times offended the clergy. Bishop Laval in 1682 was obliged to reprove

¹ *Les Ursulines*, vol. i, p. 250.

the women for not only coming to church, but taking the sacrament and distributing *pain bénit*, with bare arms and low-necked dresses and uncovered heads. The abuse had grown to such a pass that he was compelled to forbid the priests administering the sacrament to women thus underclad. The excesses or deficiencies in dress were perhaps a symptom of a social condition requiring great watchfulness on the part of the clergy, for we find the Bishop threatening to excommunicate all who took part in a *charivari*, a noisy mode of expressing popular disapproval of unsuitable marriages which has survived to our own day. But a few years later still worse demoralisation threatened the pious town, for Frontenac, besides giving a public ball at the château in the winter of 1694, went so far as to propose that Molière's *Tartuffe* should be performed.

The Jesuits had patronised by their presence serious tragedies, such as Corneille's *Heraclius* and *The Cid*, but they had disapproved absolutely of a ballet given at the company's store in 1647, which a certain "petite Marsolet," a pupil of the Ursulines, had attended in defiance of their commands. When Frontenac enlisted the dramatic talent of the garrison in the performance of Racine's *Mithridate*, no protest was made; but when he proposed playing *Tartuffe*, and assigned the management to a certain Lieutenant Mareuil, a gentleman who, though only a year in the Colony, had already become notorious for his gallantry, his old friend, Bishop Saint Vallier, loudly protested. It is assumed as true by the Abbé Ferland that Frontenac suggested that it would do the religious ladies and their scholars good to see a certain phase of life depicted in its true colours. If there is any truth in the story, Frontenac must have intended it for a joke, in the same spirit as that in

which he met the Bishop when he accepted 100 pistoles from the fat purse of the wealthy prelate in consideration of withdrawing the piece. The Governor kept his promise and the play was withdrawn; but the Bishop thundered *mandements* against such irreligious plays, and included Mareuil himself by name as "an impious creature, who even in public talks in a manner which should make the very heavens blush and call down the vengeance of God."¹ *Tartuffe* contains some expressions that verge on the indecent and which might be omitted without injuring the play; but no pruning could conceal the fact that the motive of the whole comedy is a satire against religious hypocrisy.

Tartuffe was a lay, not a clerical hypocrite, and the play was aimed against the Illuminati and their courtly advocate, Desmarests. So clearly was this recognised at the time of its first presentation that it met, according to Michelet, with the approval of the papal legate himself; but none the less its application to hypocrites in general has made it popular with every generation, and odious to certain classes. Neither Laval nor Saint Vallier had the least reason to fear a personal reference; but the wealthy Jesuits, accused, whether justly or not, of augmenting the already great wealth of the society by engaging in trade under the guise of mission work, might well dread to see the comedy performed. Whether Bishop Saint Vallier loved the Jesuits or not, he dare not allow any body of clergy to be exposed to ridicule. The Bishop therefore threw himself impetuously into the fray against the play; against the Governor who had suggested it, and against the officers who were to act in it, thus alienating his best friend, the Governor, and antagonising the army. He even induced the Sovereign Council to arrest Mareuil for

¹ Gosselin, *Mgr. de Saint Vallier et son temps.*

blasphemy, and kept him in prison until Frontenac almost by force procured his release.

The Canadian girl of all ranks in those days excited the admiration of grave savants like Kalm, and gallants like Baron de La Hontan. Even the Jesuit Father Charlevoix is rapturous on the subject of the Canadian girls, and not without reason attributes these qualities to the education the girls receive from the nuns, who, like the priests, drew a distinction between education in its wider sense and mere intellectual training. But the greater freedom of intercourse which boys and girls in Canada have always enjoyed, as compared with their kinsfolk in old France, has also been a potent factor in developing certain national traits which two hundred years ago shocked Governor Denonville, who saw in them only symptoms of dangerous lawlessness and filial disrespect.

The Catholic clergy, while drawing well-defined lines between what their parishioners might do and must refrain from doing, encouraged social intercourse between the sexes; but there was more freedom in Quebec than in Montreal, under the Sulpician rule. Baron La Hontan complained bitterly, when stationed with his regiment in Montreal, of the strict surveillance which the reverend *seigneurs*, the priests of St. Sulpice, maintained. They not only forbade all dancing, gambling, and masquerading, but took noble ladies to task and deprived them of the sacrament because they dressed in gayer colours than the sombre priests approved. They never hesitated to even upbraid sinners from the pulpit, a habit which got them into trouble when the Abbé Fénelon went so far as to criticise Frontenac himself in one of his sermons. They were also extremely particular as to what they allowed their flock to read. This probably was a restriction

of personal liberty little objected to by a community kept ever on the watch for the Iroquois and not much given to literature. The French officers, however, were not over devout, and the books which they brought with them and allowed to lie about their quarters alarmed and scandalised the good fathers to a shocking degree. The Curé in the Baron's absence saw fit to ransack his room and found a copy of the works of Petronius, which, being a perfect edition, the Baron particularly valued. But it remained perfect no longer, as the angry Curé tore out a number of objectionable leaves. The Baron, on discovering the mutilation, swore he would tear as many hairs out of the priest's beard as the priest had torn leaves from his book. His indignation, however, finally yielded to the entreaties of his landlord not to get him into trouble by such a mode of resenting the injury. From Montreal the Baron was removed to Boucherville, where, the Curé being more tolerant, he enjoyed himself in a round of parties and picnics. Of the Quebec secular clergy he has only kind words to say; he admits and appreciates the "self-denial of these poor priests, who contented themselves with the bare necessities of life," and applauds the good sense with which they refrained from meddling with matters outside of their province.

When called on to exercise courage and toil, women possessing such virtue were forthcoming in both colonies. The stories of Madame La Tour's defence of her husband's fort in Nova Scotia, and of Mademoiselle Verchère, when a girl of fourteen, maintaining a siege of a week in her father's stockade below Montreal, with a force of her two little brothers and some ill-armed farm hands, against some half a hundred Iroquois, could be supplemented from the heroic deeds of New England women, had there been chroniclers as skilful

and enthusiastic to tell the tales; for there have been recorded acts of feminine bravery, self-denial, and endurance by the women of New England quite as heroic, if not as romantic, as these stories of New France. Mrs. Drummer was the wife of the pastor of York, who was killed by the French Indians in the summer of 1692. She was taken prisoner and then liberated, but voluntarily resurrendered herself to the savages that she might accompany her son into Canada. She died from hardship on the road. She exhibited an even more elevating example of heroism than that of Mrs. Dustin, who, taken prisoner in 1697 at Haverhill, after seeing her child's brains beaten out by the savages, at night used the Indian's tomahawk to slaughter nine of the sleeping savages and their papooses, and in proof of her prowess carried their reeking scalps back to the settlement. She received £50 for each.¹ There were horrible incidents in those heinous raids of Christian Indians, led by Christian Frenchmen, and instigated by Christian priests, in revenge for as murderous assaults on peaceful Christian hamlets on the St. Lawrence by pagan Iroquois, urged on by Christian Englishmen. Race hatred and trade rivalry between white men, who should have joined hands to win the continent from barbarism by peaceful methods, fill the American annals of the end of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century with narratives of wars, which were made all the more inexcusable and reprehensible because neither side refrained from enlisting the savages, and allowing them to exercise in their service their barbarous and cruel practices. Neither Protestant nor Papist, Englishman nor Frenchman, can claim exemption from almost equal blame, and it would be better to drop a

¹ Frederici, *Scalping in America*, Smithsonian Institute Reports, 1906, says: "In the Queen Anne War the value of a scalp rose to £100."

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veil over these border raids, which were a disgrace to civilisation, than to recall them by glorying over a few acts of individual heroism which merely relieve the sombre picture, but do not abate or excuse the crimes.

CHAPTER XII

SLAVERY IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE

IN both the New England colonies and in Canada slavery was practised, and few except such humanitarian or independent theologians as Roger Williams entertained serious scruples as to its righteousness or acute regrets as to its unmercifulness. In fact there was no great sensibility on the subject of slavery in those days. A man who would buy his white brother for a term of years and treat him with all the severity of a slave would feel no compunction in buying a negro or an Indian to enslave him for life, more especially when he could apply as a salve to his conscience the benefit he was conferring on the slave by making him a Christian. We need not expect to find *humanity* as a conspicuous virtue, in the sense we attach to it, among the Puritans or the French Catholics. It is a sentiment that grows in strength the more that the reasons for the opposite evil of cruelty diminish. Among savages, whose struggle for life is keen, humanity is little known. When food is scarce and existence can be maintained only by force, it is absent.

Nor do the great movements for the alleviation of human suffering generally originate with those most closely in touch with the sufferers. The anti-slavery movement in Great Britain did not begin in the West Indies among the planters, but among Christian souls

whose religion was not influenced by habits and necessity. Nor did the abolition movement in America spring up among those who were the actual witnesses of the wrongs and the sufferings of the slaves. It had its origin in the sentiments of men whose views of right and wrong were not warped by self-interest and prejudice, and on whom the altruistic teachings of Christ and the touching poem of Paul on charity had undisturbed effect, and who would not and did not lose anything by emancipation.

In Puritan times, while Eliot, Roger Williams, and some few inhabitants of New England took interest in the conversion and the general betterment of the Indians, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel depended for its encouragement and support on the sympathy and money of people across the sea, who had never heard the Indian war-whoop or seen a tomahawk. As the aversion to mixing with what he is pleased to call inferior races seems to be stronger among the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon peoples than among the Latin, this radical bias, added to the constant risk in which he stood from stealthy Indian attack, eliminated all possibility of applying to the red man the Christian precepts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man. In fact, Christian ethical practice as thus expressed and as applied to mankind at large is a growth of comparatively recent date. There have been apostles in every age, who, like St. Francis of Assisi and some Protestant missionaries, forsook all and preached the lessons and exemplified the life of the Master; but only to-day, when life has grown less strenuous and the tendency to revert to savagery is less irresistible, have these principles of Christianity been generally applied in practice.

Winthrop, in his Journal,¹ records the fact of the

¹ Vol. i., p. 305.

importation of the first negro slaves in December, 1637, without any comment. "Mr. Pierce in the Salem ship, the *Desire*, returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence, and brought some cotton, and tobacco and negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tertugos."

But though negro slavery in New England assumed its mildest form, it existed till abolished in 1780, in spite of a recommendation of the General Court in 1646, and an order issued in 1647, which reads as follows¹:

"Section 2. It is ordered by this court, and the authority thereof; that there shall never be any band slavery, villanage or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just war, as willingly sell themselves or sold to us, and such shall have the liberty and christian usage which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require; provided this exempts none from servitude, who shall be judged thereto by authority.

"Section 3. The general court conceiving themselves bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what is past, and such a law for the future, as may sufficiently deter all others belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhorred by all good and just men, do order that the negro interpreter, with others lawfully taken, be by the first opportunity at the charge of the country at the present, sent to his native country (Guinea) and a letter with him of the indignation of the court thereabouts, and justice thereof desiring our honoured governour would please put this order in execution."

¹ *Colony Laws*, chap. xii.

Roger Williams, who deserves with Eliot the title of an apostle to the Indians, pleading for the Pequots, "our brethern by nature," requests from John Winthrop the keeping and the bringing up of one of the Indian children which he had fixed his eyes upon, "it having pleased the Most High to put into your hands another miserable drove of Adam's degenerate seed." But Edward Downing, writing to his brother-in-law, the elder Winthrop, in discussing the wisdom of a war with the Narragansetts, justifies slavery from both the religious, theological, and utilitarian points of view. He says:

"A war with the Narragansetts is verie considerable to this plantation, ffor I doubt whither yt be not synne in us having power in our hands, to surfer them to maynetayne the war-ship of the devil, which their paw wawes often doe; truly, if upon a just Warre the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which willbe more gayneful pilladge for us than we conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive untill we get into a flocke of slaves sufficient to do all our business, for our children's children will hardly see this great continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedom to plant for themselves, and not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how we shall mayntayne eleven Moores cheaper than one English servant.

"The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with salt which may bear most of the charge, if not all of yt. But I marvel Conecticott should any ways hazard a warre without your advice, which they cannot maynetayne without your helpe."¹

¹ Quoted by Moore, p. 10, *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, from Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, iv-vi, p. 65.

DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSEAGES AND PROCEEDINGS BETWIXT THE ENGLISH and the Narragansets, with their confederates, Wherin the grounds and justice of the ensuing warre are opened and cleared.

*Published, by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies:
At Boston the 12 of the sixth month
1645.*

THE most considerable part of the English Colonies professe they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to inioye his precious Ordinances with peace, and (to his praise they confess) he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth and refreshing under his wing to the satisfaction of their soules. But they know, and have considered that their Lord & master is King of righteousness and peace, that he gives answerable lawes, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame, that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wildernes. And accordingly both in their treaties & confederate they have had an awfull respect to divine rules, endeavouring to walk uprightly and innocently, & in the midst of many injuries and malencies to exercise much patience and long suffering towards them.

The Pequots grew to an excesse of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all wayes of justice & peace, before the sword was drawn or any hostile attempts made against them. During those wars, & after the Pequots were subdued, the English Colonies were carefull to continue and establish peace with the rest of the Indians, both for the present & for posterity, as by several treaties with the Narraganset & Mohegan Sagamores may appear: which treaties for a while were in some good repute duly observed by all the Indians, but of late the Narragansets & especially the Niantics their confederates have many wayes injuriously broke & violated the same by entertaining and keeping amongst them, not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood & murder of the English, seizing and possesing at least a part of the Pequots country

"A Declaration of War with the Narragansets," 1645.

The law of the Old Testament was the law of the dominant New England colonist at this period; and therefore slavery in itself and the enslavement of women and children, after the total destruction of their male enemies, who were the enemies of the Lord, after the manner of the Israelites of old, was a duty. Roger Williams, in pleading with Massachusetts for mercy to his captive friends, the Pequots, tries to explain away the cruelty of the Old Testament incidents. He says:

"Sir, Concerning captives (pardon my wanted boldness) the Scripture is full of mysterie and the Old Testament of types.

"If they have deserved death 't is sin to spare:

"If they have not deserved death then what punishments? Whether perpetual slavery.

"I doubt not but the enemy may lawfully be weaknd and despaiold of all comfort of wife and children etc. but I beseech you well weigh it after a due time of trayneing up to labour and restraint, they aught not to be set free: yet as without danger of adjoining to the enemie."¹

It has been contended that children born of slaves in Massachusetts were not legally themselves slaves; but the evidence is not conclusive, and the probability

¹Early protests against slavery came from unexpected quarters. Horace Walpole wrote on the 25th of February, 1750: "We have been sitting this fortnight on the African Company. We, the British senate, that temple of liberty and bulwark of Protestant Christianity, have, this fortnight, been considering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six and forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone! It chills one—I would not have to say I voted for it for the continent of America. The destruction of the miserable inhabitants by the Spaniards was but a momentary misfortune compared with the lasting havoc which it brought upon Africa. We reproach Spain and yet do not even pretend the nonsense of butchering these poor creatures for the good of their souls."

is that both Indian and negro children would share the fate of their parent, which as a rule was that of domestic and farm service, and was not hard. In truth the inference is almost a certainty that whatever the legal status of the slave child, his social status was that of bond servant. The agricultural and climatic conditions of New England were not favourable to the encouragement of slavery on a large scale, even if the institution had not been repugnant, or at least uncongenial, to the liberty-loving temperament of the people. This it certainly was.

There were three classes of slaves—negroes imported direct from Africa or from the West Indian Islands; Indians taken in the Pequot and King Philip wars or sold into slavery; industrial servants who had sold themselves into service before sailing, or criminals whose sentence had been commuted into transportation for life or a term of years.

The first importation of negroes seems to have been made in 1637 in the ship the *Desire* from the island of Providence, as already noted. That slaves were bred in the Colony may be inferred from the often quoted extract from Josselyn's *Two Voyages to New England*. He was a guest of Mr. Maverick of Noddles Island¹ when appealed to by a female slave, who objected to being mated with a sable husband, of whom she disapproved. These were probably members of the gang imported in the *Desire*. But that such consideration should be shown to the like or dislike of a slave is an expression of the very mild form of bondage which was from the first, prevalent in New England. According to Pal-

¹ Rev. Samuel Maverick, a colonist who preceded the Puritans, was a clergyman of the Church of England without a congregation, who consistently contended against the arbitrary acts and pretensions of the government.

frey, the slave trade must have been very slack, for in 1676 Randolph wrote to the home government: "There are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four years, for the charge of being transported thither by their masters, and not above 200 slaves in the Colony, and these are brought from Guinea and Madagascar."¹ The two hundred was a scanty increase in forty years of the gang imported by the *Desire*.

The population by that date, according to the same authority, including Hampshire and Maine, was computed at 150,000 souls. If this enumeration of negroes be correct, there was only one negro to seven hundred inhabitants. The two hundred negroes were probably almost entirely confined to domestic service. Plantation negroes, as employed in the South, would compose a class of unprofitable labour on the small farms then cultivated, if idle during the long winter months. Further evidence, that the traffic in slaves was stagnant during the seventeenth century in New England, is given by Governor Bradstreet's report in 1680 that "there hath been² no company of blacks or slaves brought into the country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of fifty years, onely one small Vessel about two years since, after twenty months voyage to Madagascar, brought hither betwixt forty and fifty negroes, most women and children, sold here for 10 l., 15 l., and 20 l. a piece. Now and then, two or three negroes are brought hither from Barbadoes and other of his Majesty's plantation and sold here for 20 l. a piece. So that there may be within our Government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty. There are very few blacks borne here, I think not above (five) or six at the most in a year, none baptised that I ever heard of . . ."

¹ Randolph, vol. ii., p. 236.

² Moore, p. 49.

But Governor Dudley in 1708, though he pronounces the slaves to have been found unprofitable, gives the number in Boston at 400 and 150 more in other towns and villages. After that they must have multiplied rapidly, for in 1770 Governor Shute informed the Lords of Trade that there were, including a few Indians, 2000 slaves in Massachusetts, and that thirty-seven male and sixteen female slaves were imported that year.¹

The Boston *News-Letter* from 1704-1706 contains advertisements of the sale of forty-six negro slaves and of rewards offered for the capture of nine runaway negroes and ten Indian slaves.

Dr. Douglas² puts the number of slaves in Boston in 1735, from the city's valuation roll, at 1514, and in the province, from the provincial roll, at 2600. Subsequently there was a great increase, for an accurate enumeration of slaves sixteen years old and upwards made by order of the Legislature in 1754 puts the number at 4489.

Meanwhile, either for the purpose of revenue or to restrain importation, a duty of £4 per head was levied after May 1, 1706, on every negro imported into the commonwealth. In 1718, when the trade in slaves grew to considerable proportions, the value for taxation of a male above fourteen years of age was £15, and of a female £10, and they were rated as cattle, for Judge Sewall makes the following entry in his diary³: "I essayed to prevent Indians and Negroes being rated with Horses and Hogs, but could not prevail."

With the exception of Section 2 of Chapter xii. of the early colonial laws, already quoted, forbidding slavery, only two acts were passed in Massachusetts to regulate the tenure of slavery, one in 1703, enacting that no

¹ Moore, p. 51.

² Douglas, vol. i., p. 531.

³ Moore, p. 64.

mulatto or negro slave shall be manumitted unless security be given the town to indemnify it against all damages committed by the liberated slave; the other act passed in 1712, to prevent the further importation of Indian and other slaves, who are described as "mendacious, surley and revengeful spirits, rude and insolent in their behavior," and who have perpetrated "divers conspiracies, outrages, barbarities, murders, burglaries, thefts and other notorious crimes and enormities." One reason given by the act for excluding slave labour is its effect in reducing the wages of the white man.

Connecticut, where Puritanism continued to hold its sway, owned very few slaves.

The growth of the trade in Massachusetts probably corresponds with the decline of religious life in the Colony, for though the example of Israel of old justified slavery, it must have been repugnant to Puritan ideals. With the Revolution the revival of enthusiasm for personal liberty, even though stimulated by different conditions than those which inspired their Puritan forefathers, must have created the strong reaction against both negro and Indian slavery which resulted in its nominal if not its complete abolition in 1780. That there were New England merchants who traded with the Guinea Coast and exchanged New England rum for human cargoes, as long as a market could be found for slaves, is no more a disproof of the honesty and universality of the anti-slavery sentiment in New England itself than the sale of arms to a blockade runner by a New England factory during the war of secession can be accepted as evidence of disloyalty to the Union by the people at large.

Still, the curious perversity of opinion, held by the early colonists in regard to the Indian, maintained its

hold for generations on certain parties in the Church and is still the creed of many of our frontiersmen. It was expressed in a petition to Governor Shirley by certain clergymen pleading for liberty of conscience, because "God hath given to every Man an unalienable Right (in matters of his Worship) to judge for himself as his Conscience receives the Rule from God by his word, and hath blessed them that have appeared to stand uprightly for the Liberties of Conscience in all ages and particularly our Fore-Fathers, who left their pleasant Native Land for an howling Wilderness, full of Savage Men and Beasts that they might have Liberty of Conscience and they found that the merciful and faithful God was not a Wilderness to them but drove out the Savages before them and as it were dunged the Land with their Carcasses and Planted Churches and Colonies. He also gave them Favour in the sight of their King and Queen, so that their Majesties granted to and indulged their Subjects in this Province with a Charter in which among other Great Favours, Liberty of Conscience (in the Worship of God), is given to all Christians (except Papists)," etc. Every man did not include every Indian, and what they were considered as good for is expressed in terms more forcible than refined.

The enslavement of the Indian was justified by the usages of war from time immemorial, and especially by the practice of the Israelites. Consequently the number of Indian slaves was greatest after the two Indian wars, the first with the Pequots in 1637, and the second with the Pokanokets, known as King Philip's War, in 1676. Hutchinson¹ tells us that on its conclusion by the death of Philip and the utter demoralisation of his tribe and his allies, "A great many of the chiefs

¹ Vol. i., p. 277.

were executed at Boston and Plymouth and most of the rest were sold and shipped off for slaves to Bermuda and other parts." It was impossible to prevent the escape of an Indian slave to his native forest, which surrounded his master's New England farm, especially if the neighbouring Indians were friendly to him; and therefore they were transported to the West Indies. Few at any time were retained in the colonies. Moreover, they made poor slaves, for while in captivity they were idle and sullen, in striking contrast to the negro.¹

Booker Washington, in his "*Story of the Negro*," draws a striking comparison between the negro and the Indian, in their capacity for work, and refers to the strange persistency of the black races, compared with the Indians, even after their transplantation to uncongenial climate and conditions of life. He claims that there was a not inconsiderable mixture of negro blood in some of the Southern Indian tribes and that the black man, in touch with the white man, acquires enough of his civilisation to assist him in the propagation of his race, while the Indian wilts and dies when forced. This is not always nor necessarily the case, for the Indian, when not forced, as in Mexico, gradually rises in the scale and ascends towards the level of the Aryan in intelligence and persistency of race. In Mexico also, under Spanish rule and the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church, we see a striking absence of race antipathy between not only the negro and the Indian, but between the immigrants of Latin races and the Indian. However barbarous early Spanish rule may have been, later Spanish influence has been more beneficent than ours.

¹ Mexico recently, after crushing the Yaqui, transported their captives to far Yucatan, to work on the plantations there, virtually as slaves. They could not have been enslaved nearer home.

During the heat and panic of King Philip's War it is not to be wondered at if such an ordinance should have been passed in Plymouth Colony as the following: "It is ordered by the Court That whosoever shall shoot of any Gun on arry Nessesarie occation or att any Game whatsoever except att an Indian or a Woolfe shall forfeite five shillings for every such shott, till further libertie shalbe given."

The colonists may also be justified for taking measures to banish all Indian slaves at such a critical period. Hence: "Whereas there is an acte or order made by the Councell of Warr bearing date July 1676 prohibiting any male Indian captive to abide in this Jurisdiction that is above fourteen years of age att the beginning of his or theire captivity and in case any such should continew in the Collonie after the time then prefixed they should be forfeite to the use of the Govrment this Court sees cause to ratify and confeirme that order and acte and doe therfore order; that all such as have any such Indian male captive that they shall dispose of them out of the Collonie by the first of December next on paine of forfeiting every such Indian or Indians to the use of the Collonie; and the Constables of each Towne of the Jurisdiction are heerby ordered to take notice of any such Indian or Indians staying in any the respective townes of this Collonie, after the time prefixed; and shall forthwith bring them to the Treasurer, to be disposed of to the use of the Govrment; as aforesaid."¹

In New England, though to a less degree than in Virginia, numerous servants were drawn from one of the indentured white classes. The best were honest folk who generally sold their labour for four years in return for a passage to the colonies; the worst were

¹ *Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, 1836, p. 177.

criminals who exchanged bondage for hanging. Their preference was for Virginia and the preference was reciprocated by the colonists of the Bay. In the records of the Virginia Company there are very few references to the Indian, but one of them brings into curious contrast the relations of the red man with the white indentured servant. There were two Indian maids, who for reason untold were a charge on the Company. "On June 11, 1621, Mr. Webb moved yt same course be taken (viz. that direction should be given to the Governor) that the two Indian Maydes might be disposed of to free the Company of the weeklye charge that now they are at from keeping of them."¹

No time was lost, for on June 13, 1621, is the following entry: "Itt being referred to this Courte to dyrect some course for the dispose of two Indian Maydes haveing byne a long time verie chargeable to ye Company, itt is now ordered that they shall be furnished and sent to the Summer Islands whither they were willinge to goe with one servante apece, towards their perform in marriage with such as shall accept of them wth that meane and wth especiall dyrecion to said Govrnor and counsell them for the carefull bestowing of them." The servants referred to must have been indentured white slaves, who were transferred to these Indian maids as part of a dowry, which it was expected would tempt some white man to marry them. Many were kidnapped and shipped across the sea under false pretences. The horrible injustice and wickedness practised on this class have afforded material for two of the best tales told by Charles Reade and Robert Louis Stevenson, and the importation of marriageable girls into the southern Colony supplies the groundwork for Mary Johnson's

¹ *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. i., p. 485.

novel, *To Have and to Hold*. But no novel can adequately depict the hardship and ignominy inflicted on these innocent victims.

In addition to this servile white labour, a large number of free labourers were induced to immigrate into the northern colonies. But even when they paid their own passage westward, if they worked for hire, under the Plymouth statute, they, as servants, were debarred from voting: for "The annual election in the Plymouth Colony was made onely by the freemen according to the former customs," and special precautions were taken against the too hasty admission of servants into the freeman voting class.

The early laws of Massachusetts are explicit in defining the social and political standing of a servant. According to them, "No servant shall be set free or have any lot till he have served out the time covenanted."¹ And again, "it is the intend and order of the Court that no person shall henceforth be chosen to any office in the commonwealth but such as is a freeman." And a body of laws defining the rights of masters and servants were passed in 1630, 1633, 1635, 1636, and 1641.² This survival of villainage, though in a very modified form, was a transplantation from Old England to New England; nor was it till the very close of the seventeenth century that Chamberlayne could say, "Now slavery is entirely thrown away; every servant man or woman are properly hired servants." But in the strict terms under which apprentices were indentured to their masters, when learning a trade, there were perpetrated, for a much longer time, on both continents, some of the features of feudalism.

Turning to Canada: just as the climate of New England was less congenial to negro slavery than that

¹ *Mass. Colony Laws*, p. 42.

² *Idem*, pp. 155 and 156.

of Virginia, so the severity of the winter of New France was even more unsuited to the institution. Nevertheless, all three kinds of slavery existed on the St. Lawrence, though none of them took deep root. A little negro boy was found in Quebec on its restoration to France in 1632. He was said by the Jesuits to have been brought, during Kirke's occupation, from Madagascar and to have been sold to a Frenchman for fifty écus. No further reference is made to negro slavery till 1677, when the colonial authorities, as a relief from scarcity of labour, suggested the purchase of negro slaves in the West Indies,¹ to which the Minister consented, but he thought the difference in climate between Canada and the Guinea Coast would injure the health of the negroes. The census, taken at irregular intervals, and which gives specific details as to the occupation of the inhabitants, makes no distinction between slaves and servants, as the occupation of the slaves was virtually the same as that of the hired domestics.

There were probably more Indian than negro slaves in Canada; but the enslaved aborigines were all from distant tribes, and consisted of captives purchased from the friendly Indians of the Lakes, with whom Canada traded. The Indian slaves were called *Panis*, undoubtedly Pawnees. These were still a powerful people numbering 10,000 or 12,000 up to 1838 and occupying part of Kansas and Nebraska. But they have dwindled through disease and war till the mere remnant of about 649 survive in the Indian Territory, far from their inveterate enemies, the Sioux. In the seventeenth century they were probably found to the east of the Missouri and perhaps even of the Mississippi, and the word *Panis* may have been used by the Lake Indians as a generic term for other warlike Western

¹ Neilson, *Transactions of Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 1905, p. 21.

tribes with whom they came into conflict and whose captured women and warriors it was more profitable to sell to the French than to torture and kill. They were the Indians of the Plains,¹ unused to woodcraft, and were therefore less prone to escape from the French settlements than would have been Iroquois or Algonquins. Nevertheless, there was sympathy for these Indian slaves among the French in Canada, and assistance was even given them to escape from their masters. The Intendant Raudot issued an edict to the following effect²:

“Jacques Raudot, Intendant, etc.

“Having a deep conviction of the advantage to the colony if it were possible to obtain by purchase Indians of the Panis (Pawnee) nation whose country is very distant; further that these people can only be obtained from certain Indians who capture them for the purpose of traffic, chiefly with the English of the Carolinas, and sometimes with our own people; and further that these Canadian purchasers of Panis are exposed to considerable losses, by the fact that some evil intentioned persons among us have inspired these captive Indians with the idea of freedom, on the plea that in France there are no slaves and that in consequence they cannot be detained as such, and this pretence, not being wholly true, for it is well known that in the West Indian Colonies, negroes are bought and sold into slavery, and all colonies must be considered on the same footing, and that the people of the Panis nation

¹ The Pawnees belonged to the Caddoan family, and moved by a north-easterly migration into the valley of the Platte, and undoubtedly warrior bands of the Confederation wandered far to the east of the Missouri. Article, *Pawnee Handbook of American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution.

² Neilson—“Slavery in Canada.” Page 22. *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 1906.

are necessary to the inhabitants of this colony to assist them as laborers, on their farms and for other works, for the same purposes and in the same way that negroes are employed in the said West Indian Islands, it becomes necessary to confirm such purchasers of Panis Indians, in the past or the future in the proprietorship of these slaves.

"Therefore, we with the assent of His Majesty ordain all the Panis and the negroes who have been or shall be purchased shall be the property of those who have purchased them and they shall be held as their slaves.

"We forbid the said Panis or negroes to desert from their masters, and those who shall induce them to leave their masters shall be liable to a penalty of 50 livres.

"We ordain that this present ordinance shall be proclaimed and read in the usual places in the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, that it shall be registered, etc., etc., as law.

"(Sgd.) RAUDOT.

"Quebec, 13 April, 1709."

Later, restrictions on the ownership of slaves had to be made, as was the case in New England; and slaves were, under the *code noir*, pronounced movable property. But their lot was not a hard one. The following instance is quoted by Neilson of a marriage between a negro and a negress and its consequences¹:

Monsieur Ignace Gamelin permits Jacques Cesar, his negro, to marry Marie, the negress of Madame la Baronne *douairière de Longueuil*. The deed relates that this is done in consideration of the services rendered by the said Cesar to the said Sieur Gamelin for more than thirty years, and on the other hand in

¹ Page 29 of Neilson's paper.

consideration of services, rendered by the said Marie to the said Baronne de Longueuil and to the late Baron and all his family from the days when she was able to serve. Therefore "I the undersigned being permitted so to do by Messire Isambart, Curé de Longueuil, do receive their mutual consent by word of mouth and give them the nuptial blessing in the presence on the husband's side of the said Sieur Gamelin Lagemeraye and on the side of the wife Madame Marie Catherine Deschambeault, Baronne douairière de Longueuil, and Mr. Joseph Fleury Deschambeault, agent of the company, (sic) undersigned.

"(Sgd.) DESCHAMBEAULT. Longueuil. IGNACE
GAMELIN.

"J. ISAMBART, Pte. Curé de Longueuil,
"IGNACE GAMELIN."

The consent of the proprietors of these slaves to marry meant emancipation as may be seen by the "Act of Consent" which reads as follows:

"The undersigned do hereby consent and permit Jacques Cesar, my negro, to marry Marie negress of Madame la Baronne de Longueuil, on condition that Madame de Longueuil shall liberate from slavery her said negress. As I liberate Cesar, he shall not pretend nor understand that I liberate him for any other purpose nor for any other marriage. Written in duplicate, Montreal, this 20th January, 1761.

"(Sgd.) IGNACE GAMELIN."

"I the undersigned permit Marie my negress, who during the last three years has begged me to permit her to marry Cesar the negro owned by Mr. Gamelin, who is by him liberated for that purpose, consent to this intended marriage, grant her liberty, as Mr. Gamelin

has done to Cesar on condition however that both shall remain in my service for three years, and I shall pay them 200 livres per annum. I promise to increase the said sum if they deserve it,—done at Montreal, Jan. 26, 1763.

“(Sgd.) DESCHAMBEAULT.

“Longueuil née Deschambeault.”

Governor Vaudreuil in 1716 in his despatch makes the same complaint as to scarcity of labour and suggests the same remedy as had been prescribed by Mons. de Lagny in the previous century—the importation of negro slaves.

Under the French régime, those slaves that escaped from the English colonies or the West Indies were to be sold and the proceeds to go to the royal treasury. When Canada surrendered to the English, one of the articles of capitulation was that “the negroes and panis of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves in the possession of the French or Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony or sell them, and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman Religion. Granted,—except those who shall have been made prisoners.”

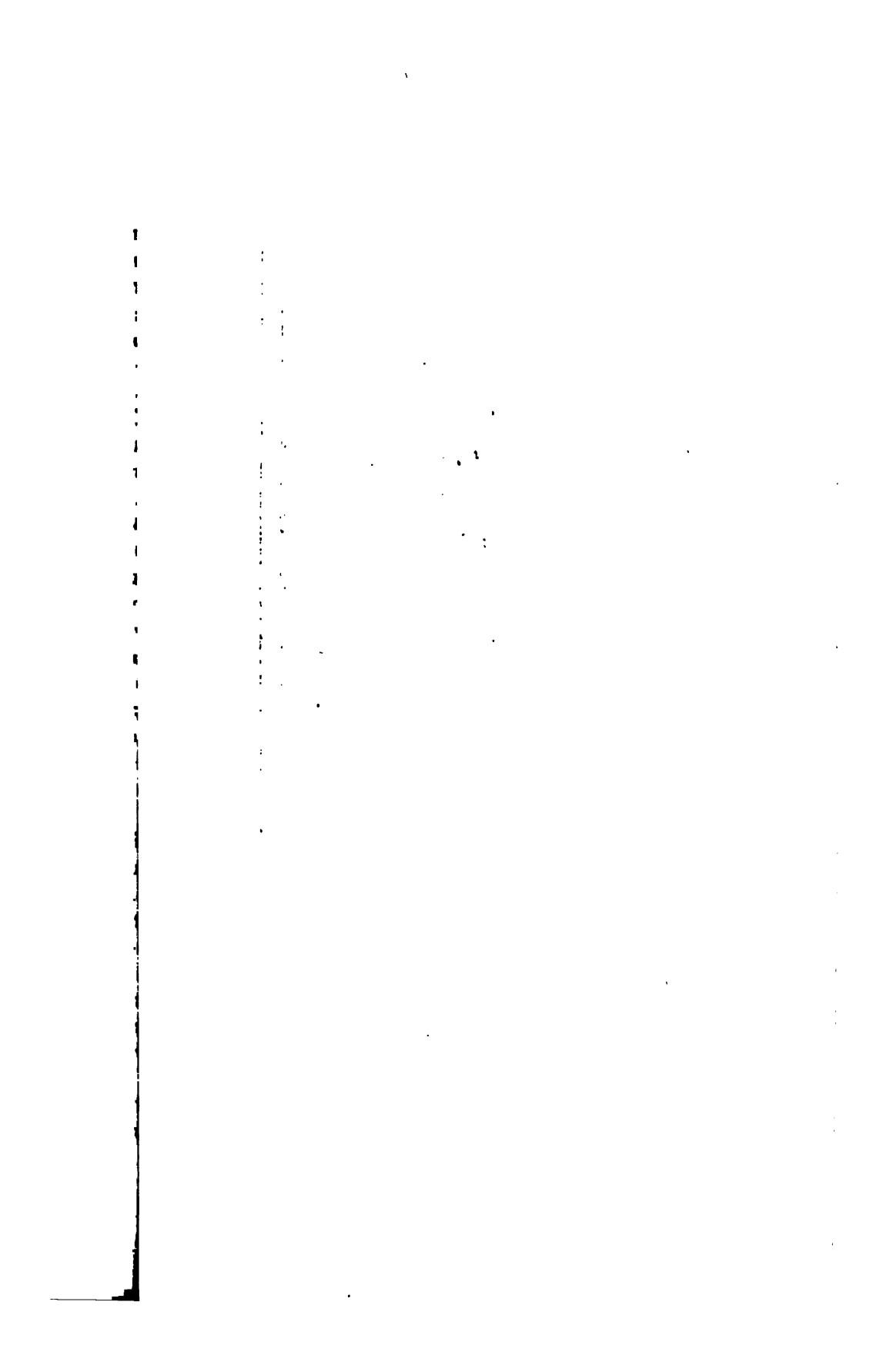
The transportation of criminals to Canada does not seem to have been practised, but undesirable members of a French family were after the seventeenth century wafted off to the Colony. That amusing but unreliable book of *Le Beau's Adventures* tells how, against his will, “we were shipped to Quebec with a company of other worthless youths of the same class in society.” But the system of industrial servants does not seem to have been adopted, and the number of compulsory immigrants was small.

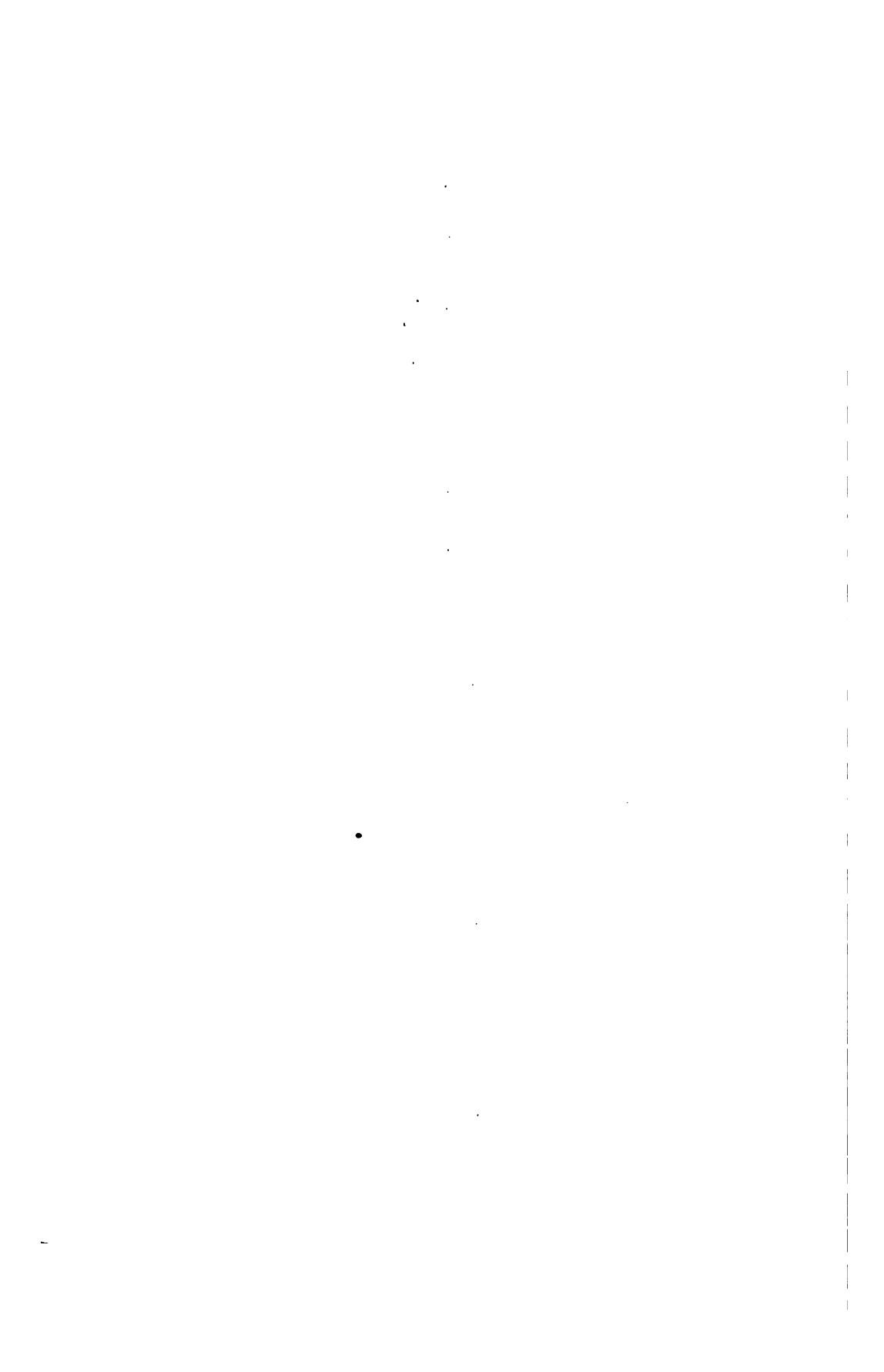
308 New England and New France

According to the Census of 1784, there were 304 slaves in Canada, but how many were captured Indians and how many were negroes is not stated. There was already a strong emancipation agitation in Canada, which found expression in a bill to abolish slavery presented to the Provincial Parliament in 1793. It failed to pass, but the courts were so lenient to refractory and recaptured runaway slaves that their value as property declined and thus the system apparently, expired without legislative action, before the act of general emancipation was passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1833.

Before the Conquest, and during the Indian raids on the frontier settlements, there was evidently a trade maintained in English captives. The motive on the part of the French, who appear to have purchased them from the Indians, was either to secure, when an exchange of prisoners was made, a profitable ransom; to make converts to the Roman Catholic Church, or to secure their services for domestic work. From the narratives that have come down to us, written by these captives, their treatment was so humane as to reflect credit on the temper of the French population, difficult as it may be to reconcile such humanity with the ferocious motives which instigated these inhuman raids. However heartless may have been the Indians, and the French soldiers who led them against the frontier settlements of New England, the prisoners taken, when they reached the St. Lawrence, after their dreary tramp, received such kind treatment from French families who redeemed them, and from the religious Orders that some of them were even reluctant to return to their old homes.

Richard Blome, in his *Present State of his Majesty's Isles and Territories*, in 1697, tells of the capture of a





certain Stockwell by the Indians at the close of King Philip's War, of his suffering on his journey to Lake Champlain, Shamblee (Chambly), and Sorel, but at the same time of the hospitality he experienced from the French from Christmas until May, and of the medical and surgical care given to his frozen hands and feet by their surgeons.

From a little volume of *Gathered Sketches of the Early History of New Hampshire and Vermont*, by Francis Chase, I glean the following incidents:

Miss Sarah Gerish was made prisoner at Dover in 1689. The sufferings of the little girl on the road were extreme, but "At last they arrived at Canada, and she was carried to the Lord Intendant's house, where many persons of quality took much notice of her. It was a week after this that she remained in the Indians' hands before the price of her ransom could be agreed upon. But then the Lady Intendant sent her to the nunnery, where she was comfortably provided for; and it was the design, as was said, for to have brought her up in the Romish religion, and then to have married her unto the son of the Lord Intendant.

"She was kindly used there, until Sir William Phipps, lying before Quebec, did, upon exchange of prisoners, obtain her liberty. After sixteen months' captivity, she was restored unto her friends, who had the consolation of having their desirable daughter again with them, returned as it were from the dead. But this dear child was not to cheer her parents' path for a long period; for, on arriving at her sixteenth year, July, 1697, death carried her off by a malignant fever."

Another captive of 1747, who was kindly treated both by her Indian captors and the Canadians when she reached the end of her tedious journey, was Mrs.

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Isabella McCoy of Epsom, N. H. Her story is told as follows:

"They now commenced their long and tedious journey to Canada, in which the poor captive might well expect that great and complicated sufferings would be her lot. She did indeed find the journey fatiguing and her fare scanty and precarious. But in her treatment from the Indians she experienced a very agreeable disappointment. The kindness she received from them was far greater than she had expected from those who were so often distinguished for their cruelties. The apples they had gathered they saved for her, giving her one every day. In this way they lasted her as far on the way as Lake Champlain. They gave her the last as they were crossing that lake in their canoes. This circumstance gave to the tree on which the apples grew the name of 'Isabel's tree,' her name being Isabella. In many ways did they appear desirous of mitigating the distresses of their prisoners while on their tedious journey. When night came on, and they halted to repose themselves in the dark wilderness, Plausawa, the head man, would make a little couch in the leaves, a little way from theirs, cover her up with his own blanket, and there she was suffered to sleep undisturbed till morning. When they came to a river which must be forded, one of them would carry her over on his back. Nothing like insult or indecency did they ever offer her during the whole time she was with them. They carried her to Canada, and sold her as a servant to a French family, where, at the close of that war, she returned home. But so comfortable was her condition there, and her husband being a man of rather a rough and violent temper, she declared she never should have thought of attempting the journey home, were it not for the sake of her children."

She said: "When the winter broke up, we removed to St. John's; and through the ensuing summer our principal residence was at no great distance from the fort at that place. In the meantime, however, my sister's husband, having been out with a scouting party to some of the English settlements, had a drunken frolic at the fort when he returned. His wife, who never got drunk, but had often experienced the ill effects of her husband's intemperance, fearing what the consequence might prove if he should come home in a morose and turbulent humor, to avoid his insolence, proposed that we should both retire, and keep out of the reach of it until the storm abated. We absconded, accordingly; but it so happened that I returned and ventured into his presence before his wife had presumed to come nigh him. I found him in his wigwam, and in a surly mood; and not being able to revenge upon his wife, because she was not at home, he laid hold of me, and hurried me to the fort, and, for a trifling consideration, sold me to a French gentleman whose name was Saccapee. 'T is an ill wind certainly that blows nobody any good.' I had been with the Indians a year lacking fourteen days; and if not for my sister, yet for me 't was a lucky circumstance indeed which thus at last, in an unexpected moment, snatched me out of their cruel hands, and placed me beyond the reach of their insolent power.

"After my Indian master had disposed of me in the manner related above, and the moment of sober reflection had arrived, perceiving that the man who bought me had taken the advantage of him in an unguarded hour, his resentment began to kindle, and his indignation rose so high that he threatened to kill me if he should meet me alone, or, if he could not revenge himself thus, that he would set fire to the fort. I was,

therefore, secreted in an upper chamber, and the fort carefully guarded, until his wrath had time to cool. My service in the family to which I was now advanced was perfect freedom in comparison with what it had been among the barbarous Indians. My new master and mistress were both as kind and generous towards me as I could any ways expect. I seldom asked a favor of either of them but it was readily granted; in consequence of which I had it in my power in many instances to administer aid and refreshment to the poor prisoners of my own nation who were brought into St. John's during my abode in the family of the above-mentioned benevolent and hospitable Saccapee. Yet even in this family such trials awaited me as I had little reason to expect; but I stood in need of a large stock of prudence to enable me to encounter them. Must I tell you, then, that even the good old man himself, who considered me as his property, and likewise a warm and resolute son of him, at that same time, and under the same roof, became both excessively fond of my company? so that between these two rivals—the father and the son—I found myself in a very critical situation indeed, and was greatly embarrassed and perplexed, hardly knowing many times how to behave in such a manner as at once to secure my own virtue and the good esteem of the family in which I resided, and upon which I was wholly dependent for my daily support. At length, however, through the tender compassion of a certain English gentleman, the governor, De Vaudreuil, being made acquainted with the condition I had fallen into, immediately ordered the young and amorous Saccapee, then an officer in the French army, from the field of Venus to the field of Mars, and at the same time also wrote a letter to his father, enjoining upon him by no means to suffer me to be

abused, but to make my situation and service in his family as easy and delightful as possible. I was, moreover, under an unspeakable obligation to the governor upon another account. I had received intelligence from my daughter Mary, the purport of which was that there was a prospect of her being shortly married to a young Indian of the tribe of St. Francis, with which tribe she had continued from the beginning of her captivity. These were heavy tidings, and added greatly to the poignancy of my other afflictions. However, not long after I had heard this melancholy news, an opportunity presented of acquainting that humane and generous gentleman, the commander-in-chief, and my illustrious benefactor, with this affair also, who, in compassion for my sufferings, and to mitigate my sorrows, issued his orders in good time, and had my daughter taken away from the Indians, and conveyed to the same nunnery where her sister was then lodged, with his express injunction that they should both of them together be well looked after and carefully educated, as his adopted children. In this school of superstition and bigotry they continued while the war in those days between France and Great Britain lasted; at the conclusion of which war the governor went home to France, took my oldest daughter along with him, and married her to a French gentleman, whose name is Cron Louis. He was at Boston with the fleet under Count d'Estaing (1778), as one of his clerks. My other daughter still continuing in the nunnery, a considerable time had elapsed after my return from captivity, when I made a journey to Canada, resolving to use my best endeavors not to return without her. I arrived just in time to prevent her being sent to France. She was to have gone in the next vessel that sailed for that place; and I found it extremely difficult to prevail with

her to quit the nunnery and go home with me; yea, she absolutely refused; and all the persuasions and arguments I could use with her were to no effect until after I had been to the governor and obtained a letter from him to the superintendent of the nuns, in which he threatened, if my daughter should not be immediately delivered into my hands, or could not be prevailed with to submit to my maternal authority, that he would send a band of soldiers to assist me in bringing her away. Upon hearing this, she made no further resistance; but so extremely bigoted was she to the customs and religion of the place, that, after all, she left it with the greatest reluctance and the most bitter lamentations, which she continued as we passed the streets, and wholly refused to be comforted. My good friend, Major Small, whom we met with on the way, tried all he could to console her, and was so very kind and obliging as to bear us company, and carry my daughter behind him on horseback.

"But I have run on a little before my story, for I have not yet informed you of the means and manner of my own redemption, to the accomplishing of which, the recovery of my daughter, just mentioned, and the ransoming of some of my other children, several gentlemen of note contributed not a little; to whose goodness, therefore, I am greatly indebted, and sincerely hope I shall never be so ungrateful as to forget. Colonel Schuyler, in particular, was so very kind and generous as to advance two thousand seven hundred livres to procure a ransom for myself and three of my children. He accompanied and conducted us from Montreal to Albany, and entertained us in the most friendly and hospitable manner a considerable time at his own house, and I believe entirely at his own expense."

Trumbull relates how one of the boys captured in

1745 at Fort Massachusetts refused willingly to leave his Canadian protectors with a Colonel Hawks, who redeemed him after he had been a year and nine months with his captors. He says¹: "When he was brought into the presence of Colonel Hawks, he was unwilling to know him, although he was his uncle, and had always been acquainted with him in Deerfield. Neither would he speak in the English tongue; not that he had forgotten it, but to express his unwillingness to return. He made use of various arts that he might not be exchanged; and finally could not be obtained but by threats, and was brought off by force. In this we see the surprising power of habit. This youth had lost his affection for his country and friends in the course of one year and nine months, and had become so attached to the Indians, and their mode of living, as to consider it the happiest life. This appears the more surprising, when we consider that he fared extremely hard, and was reduced almost to a skeleton."

Trumbull describes other examples of captives who preferred life on the St. Lawrence to life in New England. The wife and two children of Aaron Rawlins, after his murder by the Indians, "were carried to Canada. The woman was redeemed in a few years. The son was adopted by the Indians, and lived with them all his days. He came to Penacook, with the Indians, after the peace, and expressed to some people, with whom he conversed, much resentment against his uncle Samuel Rawlins, on supposing he had detained from his mother some property left by his father, but manifested no desire of returning to Newmarket again. The daughter married with a Frenchman, and, when she was near sixty years old, returned with her husband to her

¹ Henry Trumbull's *History of the Indian Wars*, p. 108, published at Boston, 1846.

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native place, in expectation of recovering the patrimony she conceived was left at the death of her father; but the estate having been sold, they were disappointed, and after a year or two went back to Canada."¹

One of the captives in the Deerfield raid of 1703 was the Rev. John Williams. His narrative of *The Redeemed Captive* gives what may be accepted as a true picture of two features of Canadian life: the unscrupulous methods to which the Jesuits resorted to convert the dying and to influence the children in favour of their faith, and the invariable kindness and sympathy shown to the captives by the French, whether officials or civilians. The secular clergy, as well as the Jesuits, treated the reverend gentleman hospitably; and asked him to dinner even on Sunday, but the table talk was always controversial; and the wiles by which they perverted his son may well have excited the indignation of a less pronounced bigot than the Puritan father and pastor. Another son, his youngest, was separated from him on the journey "but at last he arrived at Montreal, where a French gentlewoman, pitying the child, redeemed it out of the hands of the heathen" (p. 29). He himself arrived at Chambly, a village about fifteen miles from Montreal. "The French were very kind to me," he said. "A gentleman of the place took me into his house, and to his table; and lodged me at night on a good feather-bed. The inhabitants and officers were very obliging to me, the little time I staid with them, and promised to write a letter to the governour in chief, to inform him of my passing down the river. Here I saw a girl taken from our town, and a young man, who informed me that the greatest part of the captives were come in, and that two of my

¹Henry Trumbull's *History of the Indian Wars*, p. 125, published at Boston, 1846.

children were at Montreal; that many of the captives had been in three weeks before my arrival. Mercy in the midst of judgment! As we passed along the river towards Sorel, we went into a house, where was an English woman of our town, who had been left among the French in order to her conveyance to the Indian fort. The French were very kind to her, and to myself, and gave us the best provision they had":

Proceeding down the Richelieu, "When we came down to the first inhabited house at Sorel, a French-woman came to the river side, and desired us to go into her house; and when we were entered, she compassioned our state, and told us she had in the last war been a captive among the Indians, and therefore was not a little sensible of our difficulties. She gave the Indians something to eat in the chimney corner, and spread a cloth on the table for us with napkins; which gave such offence to the Indians, that they hasted away, and would not call in at the fort. But wherever we entered into houses, the French were very courteous. When we came to St. François river, we found some difficulty by reason of the ice; and entering a French-man's house, he gave us a loaf of bread, and some fish to carry away with us; but we passed down the river till night, and there seven of us supped on the fish called bullhead or pout, and did not eat it up, the fish was so very large.

"The next morning we met with such a great quantity of ice, that we were forced to leave our canoe, and travel on land. We went to a French officer's house, who took us into a private room, and treated us very courteously. That night we arrived at the fort called St. François; where we found several poor children, who had been taken from the eastward the

¹Rev. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive*, pp. 35-36.

summer before; a sight very affecting, they being in habit very much like Indians, and in manners very much symbolising with them. At this fort lived two Jesuits, one of which was made superior of the Jesuits of Quebec. One of these Jesuits met me at the fort gate, and asked me to go into the church and give God thanks for preserving my life. I told him I would do that in some other place" (pp. 36-38).

From Sorel he was transferred to Montreal, where his captivity was merely nominal. Of his treatment there he says:

"When I came to Montreal, which was eight weeks after my captivity, the Gouvernor de Vaudreuil redeemed me out of the hands of the Indians, gave me good clothing, took me to his table, gave me the use of a very good chamber, and was in all respects, relating to my outward man, courteous and charitable to admiration. At my first entering into his house, he sent for my two children, who were in the city, that I might see them; and promised to do what he could to get all my children and neighbours out of the hands of the savages. My change of diet, after the difficulties of my journeys, caused an alteration in my body; I was physicked, bled, and very tenderly taken care of in my sickness. The governour redeemed my eldest daughter out of the hands of the Indians; and she was carefully tended in the hospital, until she was well of her lameness; and by the governour provided for with respect, during her stay in the country. My youngest child was redeemed by a gentlewoman in the city, as the Indians passed by" (pp. 48-49).

In Montreal he was too intimate with the other English prisoners and influential in maintaining them firm in the faith. Therefore, as one gathers from his

narratives, the Jesuits persuaded Vaudreuil to send him to Quebec, concerning which he says:

"I was sent down in Company of Governour de Ramsey, governour of Montreal, and the superior of the Jesuits, and ordered to live with one of the council; from whom I received many favours for seven weeks. He told me it was the priests' doings to send me down before the governour came down; and that if I went much to see the English, or they came much to visit me, I should yet certainly be sent away, where I should have no converse with the English.

"After my coming down to Quebec, I was invited to dine with the Jesuits, and to my face were civil enough" (p. 60).

The lurking jealousy and dislike which the Jesuits entertained of the civil and military officials and the manœuvres of the Jesuits to gain their object is more than once evinced. In Quebec "there was a gentleman called Monsieur de Beauville, a captain, the brother of the lord intendant, who was a good friend to me, and very courteous to all the captives; he lent me an English Bible, and when he went to France, gave it me" (p. 65). But his intercourse with the prisoners and probably with de Beauville and other laymen suggested his removal from Quebec to Château Richer, "a few days before Governor de Vaudreuil's coming down, . . . that I might not have opportunity of converse with the English. I was courteously treated by the French, and the priest of that parish; they told me that he was one of the most learned men in the country; he was a very ingenious man, zealous in their way, but yet very familiar. I had many disputes with the priests who came thither, and when I used their own authors to confute some of their positions, my books, borrowed of them, were taken away

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from me, for they said, I made an ill use of them" (pp. 68-69).

Incidentally the impression we carry away from the poor man's tale of his troubles, after he passed from the hands of the Indians into bondage under the French, is that he was entertained as a guest by enemies, whose aim was to alleviate his sufferings; and that, though the French approved of their Indian allies bringing droves of captives to the St. Lawrence, they were most humanely treated and used as exchange for French prisoners, taken by the English or their Indian allies in their aggressions on the St. Lawrence, or when attacking the French mission settlements on the Kennebec. His narrative confirms the evidence of others that the temper of the colonists, high and low, of New France, was that of kindness and courtesy.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND

IN one particular the educational problem was the same in New France and New England. Where there was unanimity in religious opinion and the clergy of the dominant church were in control, schools for the training of religious teachers were of necessity maintained, and though other youths than candidates for the Church passed through them, the course of study was framed primarily for the education of religious teachers. Before the Reformation in England certain of the monastic orders and the secular clergy had almost a monopoly of education, and the schools were almost an integral part of the cathedral corporation. Religion was therefore not only a subject of study, but strict religious rules were imposed on pupils as well as teachers.¹

As the Reformation in England aimed at making the changes from the old faith and form of worship to the new as slight as was consistent with reform of acknowledged abuses and repudiation of certain offensive tenets and practices, the school system retained some of its former religious features. The Established Church of England being a State church, the State, almost of neces-

¹ Nevertheless, in 1407 William Sevenoaks founded a grammar school with the provision that "the master shall not be in holy orders." Leach's *Educational Charters*, xxxviii.

sity, endeavoured to enforce uniformity in the schools, and therefore the laws made religious teaching, conformable to the doctrines of the State church, an essential subject of study. New England rejected the domination of the Church of England but adhered to the principle of ecclesiastical control. The early New England communities, therefore, considered the teaching in school of their peculiar religious tenets to be of vital importance to both the State and the child, and looked upon the minister as unquestionably the proper person to superintend, though not to teach. It was only when men were allowed to express freely differences of opinion on religious topics that the inconsistency of the control of public schools by one religious body came to be recognised. This recognition was followed by a marked declension of public interest in public schools, a decline which continued till all alliance between Church and State was severed and control by any one religious community over public education ceased.

Public schools were, in 1647, ordered by law to be established in every township in Massachusetts numbering on its roll fifty households. But before that date large sums of money were voluntarily subscribed for the support of what may be presumed to have been free schools. As early as 1635 it was voted by the town of Boston "that one brother Philemon Pormort shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children with us." Mr. Daniel Maude succeeded him in 1638.¹

The records show how liberally men subscribed towards the support of the school. Governor Henry Vane headed the list with £10, and Deputy Governor Winthrop followed with £10.²

¹ Winthrop, ii., p. 264.

² *Ibid.*, ii., p. 265.

Governor Winthrop in 1646¹ says: "Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) and at Boston (where they made an order to allow forever 50 pounds to the master and an house, and 30 pounds to an usher, who should also teach to read and write and cipher, and Indians' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc., and this order was confirmed by the general court). Other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means."

But the charter of the public schools of the United States is found in Chapter LXXXVIII of the General Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Bay, which reads:²

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupt with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors:

"It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof; that every township within this jurisdiction,

¹ Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. ii., p. 264.

² Page 186 of the *Colony Laws*.

The Council of Constantinople in 692 required every priest to teach children under seven in his own house free, and this was enforced in Saxon times in Britain (page 37 of Leach's *Charters*). Free education was given in the Cathedral Schools before and after the Reformation, and subsequently in the Endowed Free Schools and the National Schools; but New England can claim priority in making education free in State supported schools.

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after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university: and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order. (May, 1647.)"

It was further enacted in 1671:

"Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country, that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature, but in sound doctrine;

"This court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of our overseers of the college, and the selectmen of the several towns, not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating, or instructing youth or children in the college or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ.

"Whereas the law requires every town consisting of one hundred families or upwards to set up a grammar school and appoint a master thereof, able to instruct

youth, so as to fit them for the college; and upon neglect thereof the said town is to pay five pounds per annum to the next latin school until they shall perform that order:

"The court upon weighty reasons judge meet to declare and order; that every town of one hundred families and upwards, that shall neglect or omit to keep a grammar school, as is provided in that law, such towns shall pay ten pounds per annum unto the next town school that is settled according to that law. (May, 1671.)"

And in 1683:

"As an addition to the law, tit. Schools, this court does order and enact that every town, consisting of more than five hundred families, or householders, shall set up and maintain two grammar schools, and two writing schools, the masters whereof shall be fit and able to instruct youth as said law directs. And whereas the said law makes the penalty for such towns as provide not schools, to pay to the next school ten pounds; this court hereby enacts that the penalty shall be twenty pounds, where there are two hundred families or householders. (October, 1683.)"

The penalty was raised in 1701 to £20 for neglect to maintain even an elementary school; for the General Court enacted that "Whereas it is by law appointed that . . . every schoolmaster is to be suitably encouraged and paid by the inhabitants, the observance of which wholesome and necessary law is shamefully neglected by divers towns, and the penalty thereof not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, whereof grievous complaint is made, for redress of the same:

"Be it enacted and declared by the lieutenant governor, council and representatives, in general court assembled, and by authority of the same, that the

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penalty or forfeiture for non-observance of the said law shall henceforth be twenty pounds per annum, and so proportionably for a lesser time that any town shall be without such settled schoolmaster respectively, to be recovered, paid and employed in manner and to the use as by law is directed, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

The same law provides that "Every grammar schoolmaster be approved by the minister of the town and the ministers of the two next adjacent towns, or any two of them, by certificate under their hands."

But while the appointment rests with the ministers, "No minister of any town shall be deemed, held or accepted to be the schoolmaster of such town within the intent of the law."

The grammar school course included Latin and such subjects as were required for matriculation at Harvard. Therefore the number of children who were admitted to the grammar school must have been a small proportion of the whole. Dame schools became a necessary and supplementary part of the educational system in New England as well as in Old England. They imparted the rudiments to the very young, both boys and girls; but if the teaching was on a par with the teacher's remuneration, it was of a very primitive standard.¹

In 1646, a highly respected widow of Woburn, Mass., one Mrs. Walker, kept a school in a room of her own house. The town agreed to pay her ten shillings for the first year; but after deducting seven shillings for

¹On both sides the Atlantic complaints were common of children being sent too young to school "whereby the usher is over-burdened." Moreover, children were entered at the Grammar School who so far from understanding Latin, could hardly stumble through their primer. In New Haven the children in the Grammar School "who bothered the master by spelling in English" were sent home. See Eggleston's *Transit of Civilisation*.

taxes and several small amounts for produce, she received finally from the town one shilling and three-pence for her pedagogical work.

Elizabeth Wright was the first teacher in the town of Northfield, Mass. She taught a class of young children at her own house for twenty-two weeks each summer; for this she received fourpence a week for each child.

For the summer school at Franklin, Conn., in 1798, "a qualified woman-teacher" had but seven cents a week pay. Men teachers who taught both boys and girls usually had better pay; but Samuel Appleton, in later life the well-known Boston merchant and philanthropist, according to Alice Earle was her great-grandfather's teacher in the year 1786. His pay was his board, lodging, and washing, and sixty-seven cents per week, and it was deemed liberal and ample.

Some of the contracts under which teachers were hired still exist. One for the teacher at the Dutch settlement of Flatbush, Long Island, in 1668, is very full in detail, and we learn much of the old-time school from it. A bell was rung to call the scholars together at eight o'clock in the morning, the school closed for a recess at eleven, opened again at one, closed at four; all sessions began and closed with prayer. On Wednesdays and Saturdays the children were taught the questions and answers in the catechism and the common prayers. The master was paid (usually in wheat or corn) for a "speller or reader" three guilders a quarter, for a "writer" four guilders. He had many other duties to perform besides teaching the children. He rang the church bell on Sunday, read the Bible at service in church, and led the singing; sometimes he read the sermon. He provided water for baptisms, bread and wine for communion, and in fact performed all the

duties now done by the sexton, including sweeping out the church. He delivered invitations to funerals and carried messages. Sometimes he dug the graves, and often he visited and comforted the sick.¹

Coeducation was not favoured, though mention is made of a school in Providence where young ladies were admitted from 6 to 7:30 in the morning and from 4:30 to 6 in the afternoon—fee, \$2 a quarter. Alice Morse Earle in her *Child Life in Colonial Days* tells a pathetic story of a “learning little maid in Hartfield, Mass., who would slip away from her spelling or knitting and sit on the school steps to listen with eager envy to the boys as they recited within.”

As the record of the province took no account of either the number of these elementary schools or of educational methods, we can only gather from private memoirs or stray reference in municipal records an imperfect idea of their value in the educational system. The same is equally true to-day of our ignorance of the value and character of the teaching given in our private and parochial schools, and the relation they bear to the public schools, both as preparatory and finishing institutions. One thing is very certain: that a very small proportion of children of the Bay entered Harvard, or were qualified to obey the rule of the Grammar and Latin school, that Latin alone must be spoken during school hours.

The Plymouth Colony was more backward than Massachusetts, but recognised the necessity of appropriating a definite source of revenue to the support of its schools. It was not till 1663² that it was “proposed by the General Court unto the severall Townships of this Jurisdiction as a thing they ought to take

¹ For further interesting details see Alice Morse Earle's *Child Life in Colonial Days*.

² *Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, p. 143.

into their serious consideration; that some course be taken that in every towne there may be a school-master sett up to traine up children to reading and writing."

The court modestly made the proposal; but the suggestion does not seem to have been very promptly acted on by the people themselves, to judge by the following extract from the general laws of 1671¹:

"Forasmuch as the good Education of Children and Youth is of singular use and benefit to any Commonwealth; and whereas many Parents and Masters either through an over respect to their own occasions and business, or not duely considering the good of their Children and Servants, have too much neglected their duty in their Education, whilst they are young and capable of Learning;

"It is Ordered, That the Deputies and Select men of every Town, shall have a vigilant eye from time to time over their Brethren and Neighbors, to see that all Parents and Masters do duely Endeavour by themselves or others, to teach their children and servants as they grow capable, so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least to be able duely to read the Scriptures, and other good profitable Books printed in the English Tongue (being their Native Language) and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, necessary to Salvation, by causing them to learn some short Orthodox Catechisme without Book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give a due answer to such plain and ordinary Questions, as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same: And further that all Parents and Masters do breed and bring

¹ *Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, pp. 270-271.

up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labour or employment, that may be profitable for themselves, or the Country; and if after warning and admonition given by any of the Deputies, or Select-men, unto such Parents or Masters, they shall still remain negligent in their duty, in any of the particulars aforementioned, whereby Children or Servants may be in danger to grow Barberous, Rude or Stubborn, and so prove Pests instead of Blessings to the Country; That then a fine of ten shillings shall be levied on the Goods of such negligent Parent or Master, to the Towns use, except extreme poverty call for mitigation of the said fine.

"And if in three months after that, there be no due care taken and continued, for the Education of such children and apprentices as aforesaid, then a fine of twenty shillings to be levied on such Delinquents Goods, to the towns use, except as aforesaid.

"And Lastly, if in three months after that, there be no due Reformation of the said neglect, then the said Select-men with the help of two Magistrates, shall take such children and servants from them, and place them with some Masters for years (boyes till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age), which will more strictly educate and govern them according to the rules of this Order."

It was felt necessary to assign funds for the support of schools, if education was to be made compulsory; and it was suggested, by popular consent, that the profits from the fishing off Cape Cod be appropriated to the support of the school. The tax on fishing, as we learn from Chapter XI of the *Game Laws*, published in 1671, was sixpence per barrel of herrings caught by nets by an inhabitant, and twelvepence per barrel by strangers.

The fee for catching bass in nets was sixpence per quintal.

Another of the general laws published by the authority of the General Court, June 6, 1671, provides, with regard to schools, that it is "Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, That every County Town shall have and maintain a Latine School; which if they do and the Master judged by the major part of the Ministers of the County a Person capable to bring up Youth fit for the Colledg; then such Town for their encouragement shall have one third part annually of the money raised on the account of the Cape Fishing; and if the County Town refuse or neglect the same, then such other Town that hath such a School shall have said Money; and if more than one such in the County, where the County Town neglects, then said Money to be divided between them; and where there is no such School in the County, then the Money to be for the Colonies use.

"Ordered, That in any County Town where such School-Master is provided, whether by the major part of the Town or upon their neglect by a minor part, with the approbation of two Magistrates; such Town shall pay twelve pounds per annum to be raised as other Town Rates annually for such School-Master; and such as have the immediate benefit by sending their children to pay three pence a week for Writing and Reading, and six pence a week for a Schollar after he comes to his Grammar; and every such School-Master shall be capable to teach to Write and Cypher; and shall receive children after they are fit to begin in their Psalter; and any that send their children from any other Town in the County not to pay for their Schooling."¹

¹ *Plymouth Laws*, p. 300.

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It must have been vigorously acted on, for we find that the court convened in 1674 enacted as follows:

"This Court haveing received by the deputies of the severall Townes the signification of the minds of the Major pte of the free men of this Collonie that all the proffitts of the fishing att Cape Code graunted by the Court for the erecting and maintaining of a Scoole be still continued for that end if a competent number of Scollars shall appeer to be devoated thereunto, which this Court judges not to be lesse than eight or ten—Doe therfore heerby confeirme the graunt of the aforsaid proffitts of the fishing att the Cape to the maintainance of the Schoole; and that there be noe further demaunds, besides the said profitts of the Cape demaunded of the Country for the maintainance of the said Scoole."¹

As the population grew, the need of higher education was felt, as the following statute indicates. It implies also that the fishing taxes were becoming insufficient to support the schools.

"Forasmuch as the maintainance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weale and flourishing estate of societies and Republiques—This Court doth therfor order; That in whatsoever townshipp in this Gov'ment consisting of fifty families or upwards; any meet man shall be obtained to teach a Gramer Scoole such townshipp shall allow att least twelve pounds in currant marchantable pay to be raised by rate on all the Inhabitants of such Towne and those that have the more emediate benefitt thereof by theire Childrens good and generall good shall make up the resedue nesesesarie to maintaine the same and that the profitts ariseing of the Cape Fishing, heerto-fore ordered to maintaine a Gramer Scoole in this Collonie, be destributed to such Townes as have such

¹ *Plymouth Laws*, p. 172.

Gramer Scooles for the maintainance therof; not exceeding five pounds p annum to any such Towne unless the Court Treasurer or other appointed to manage that affaire see good cause to adde therunto to any respective Towne not exceeding five pounds more pr annum; and further this Court orders that every such Towne as consists of seaventy families or upwards and hath not a gramer scoole therin shall allow and pay unto the next towne which hath such Gramer scoole kept up amongst them, the sume of five pounds p annum in currant merchantable pay, to be levied on the Inhabitants of such defective townes by rate and gathered and delivered by the Constables of such Townes as by warrant from any Majestrate of this Jurisdiction shalbe required."¹

Education was not altogether neglected in Virginia. The Episcopal Church was there as arbitrarily in control as was the Congregational Church in New England.² Consequently, there also, the religious motive dominated education, but the spirit of the people was widely different and opposition to free State schools was active. In 1621 contributions of £70 and £30 were given for public schools, and in the following year the establishment of a "*free-scoole* intended especially for infidel children in Virginia," was debated by the court, and rejected by reason that "as yet, though these dotinge so much upon Tobacco, no such workman could be had but at intolerable rates."³ This discussion was excited by gifts amounting to £550, subscribed by members of the East India Company⁴ under the solicitation of the Rev. Mr. Copland, which sum was increased by the donation of £25 more at the same meeting.

¹ *Plymouth Laws*, p. 185.

² *Records of the Virginia Company*, p. 538.

³ *Idem.*, p. 589.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 550.

The company also received from the Bishop of Rochester £20 collected in his diocese for the "Colledge in Virginia."¹

Having secured the funds, the next question that occupied the court was the selection of an usher "to instruct the children in the free school there intended to be created." The company meanwhile used the donation in their business, but in 1624 "the Committee approved a Treaty, which Mr. Copland thought fitt, an allowance be made either in Cattle or by turning over some of the Company's Tenants for the use of said school, and thereupon agreed that accordinglie satisfaction should be made by the Company to the full for the money soe borrowed and employed."

The example thus set of free schools established by gifts and bequests was followed, and the King's Free School, the Symmes and Eaton schools,² and later the free school attached to William and Mary College supplied the educational wants of the Colony and maintained the influence of the Episcopal Church.

In Canada, Roman Catholic ecclesiastical orders supplied education to boys and girls without state subsidy. In Virginia, education relied exclusively on voluntary donations contributed by members of the Episcopal Church. In New England, schools were supported partly by taxation and partly by gifts to teach religion as understood by the Congregationalists. It is not through accident that New England alone recognised the obligation of imposing a tax for the maintenance of schools, for a public tax means public use of the object for which it is levied. The great body of the immigrants to New England, up to 1640, were highly educated men, or men drawn from

¹ *Records of the Virginia Company*, i., p. 560.

² Eggleston, *Transit of Civilisation*, p. 263.

a class of the people which had learned at least to think for themselves; otherwise they would not have differed and separated from the great body of their fellow-countrymen. To such the education of the children was necessary, if they were to continue to be independent, and to have any reason for the faith which their parents hoped they would continue to hold.

To the churches, therefore, the first white children of America owed their education, and it remains to be seen whether the exclusion of religious teaching from our schools, even though it be excited by denominationalism, will improve the morals and manners of our children. The old schools, with all their narrowness and harsher and cruder methods, made sturdy men out of their scholars. The girls were supposed to be sufficiently equipped by being taught the merest elements of learning; but they all anticipated being housewives and mothers, and were trained in domestic duties instead of as stenographers and typewriters.

The schools and grammar schools were but stepping-stones to the college, which would give to the clergy a complete equipment in learning to fit them for being the spiritual guides of the people and the advisers of the civil magistrates in the last resort.

The General Court of Massachusetts therefore awarded £400 to build the college in New Town, afterwards named Cambridge, home of the alma mater of so many of the more learned of the children of the Puritan immigrants. There is no record to show that the £400 subscribed by the General Court was actually paid; nor were any active steps taken to found the college till the Rev. John Harvard, in 1640, bequeathed, besides his library, one half his estate, yielding £779 17s. 10d., to support the new college. The first preceptor was a Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who left a record for distinction in

avarice and cruelty. Judging from the hard experience of his successor, there was little material on which to exercise the first passion; but yielding to the second cost him his situation. The Rev. Henry Dunster succeeded Eaton, with a short interregnum by Mr. Samuel Shepherd.¹ Dunster raised the institution from the low estate of a school, under a brutal schoolmaster, to the status of a college, to which it had been entitled in name by an act of incorporation by the General Council. The officers consisted of a president, a treasurer, and two fellows, who were also tutors,² a board of overseers or visitors, consisting of the Governor, the Deputy Governor, the Magistrate of the Colony, and the ministers of the six adjacent towns, constituted the governing body.

The annual State contribution was supposed to be £100; but according to Dunster, the amount received in money for his support, and presumably of the two Fellows, was only £50; and therefore most of his remuneration was from "the stipends of the scholars."³ The income from the Charlestown ferry was settled by the General Court on the college, but the revenue from this source seems to have been small.

President Dunster, after serving the college for thirteen years, from 1640 till 1653, was found to be tainted with the heresy of Antipædobaptism, and dismissed, when £40 was still due of his irregularly paid salary.

This debt was compromised by his widow upon his death on the receipt of £20. The college was certainly financially in woeful plight, as is shown in Governor Endicott's plea to the General Court for assistance. After urging (in vain) the payment of the debt due the learned ex-president, he says: "The College building,

¹ Quincy, p. 14.

² Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, p. 17.

³ Cotton Mather, ii., p. 12.

although it be new ground-silled by the help of some free contributions the last year, yet those ceasing, and the work of reparation therewith intermitted, it remains in other respects in a very ruinous condition. It is absolute necessity that it be speedily new covered, being not fit for scholars long to abide in as it is. And without such reparation some time this summer both the whole building will decay, and so the former charge about it will be lost, and the scholars will be forced to depart. So that either help must be had therein, or else (we fear) no less than a dissolution of the College will follow. And it is conceived that it will need a hundred pounds to set it in comfortable repair. All the estate the College hath (as appears by the inventory thereof) is only its present buildings, library, a few utensils, with the press, and some parcels of land (none of which can be with any reason or to any benefit sold to help in the premises), and in real revenue about twelve pounds per annum (which is a small pittance to be shared among four Fellows), besides fifteen pounds per annum, which, by the donor's appointment, is for scholarships."¹

Dr. Chauncy succeeded Dr. Dunster in the president's chair, and to the same financial neglect, due, as his descendant rightly says, "not to inability in the Province but to the niggardly disposition of its representatives in the General Court." His remuneration was largely paid in Indian corn which, he says, "could not be turned into food and clothing without great loss." Again and again he applied for fair treatment to the General Court, but they turned a deaf ear to his appeals. The dissenting deputies once voted him five pounds and a quarter; but "the magistrate consented not thereto." But after his death the Magistrate relented and paid his family in money—not in corn—the arrears due, and

¹ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, p. 462.

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£10 to boot. Increase Mather lauds President Chauncy as "a man of many virtues and accomplishments," and of "unfailing diligence in the instruction of the sons of the prophets." The college evidently still fulfilled almost exclusively the design of its founder as a training school for ministers.

The stimulus which saved the college came voluntarily from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whose inhabitants, out of gratitude for protection extended them by Massachusetts, authorised the town to pledge the payment of £60 sterling a year for seven years, "to be improved by the overseers of the College for the advancement of good government there."

The example of Portsmouth had immediate effect for Boston subscribed £800 for erecting a new college, the old buildings being in ruins. Of this sum £100 was contributed by Sir Thomas Temple, and £50 by Mr. Benjamin Gibbs. Salem contributed £130 2s. 3d., of which £110 came from three individuals, and other towns supplemented these grants by £1477. A committee went to England to solicit aid. The first subscriber in the old country is Sir George Downing, whose name appears on the first class list of Harvard graduates. Like many others he returned, with the turning of the political tide, to England; became Secretary of the Treasury in 1667, and gave his name to the street on which the departmental government buildings in London are built.

The large amount¹ so speedily collected in the Colony, when once public feeling was aroused, reflects ingloriously on the lack of public spirit which allowed poor Presidents Dunster and Chauncy to starve on Indian corn.

¹ The total amount raised on both sides of the Atlantic in 1669 and years immediately subsequent was over £4500.

It was true then as it is to-day that men are more liberal in supplying funds to erect buildings which perpetuate their names than in providing for professors adequate salaries, which disappear in food and raiment, leaving only the intangible results of their teaching. The subscriptions may not have been very promptly paid for the erection of new college buildings, for the work was not completed till 1682.

President Hoar succeeded President Chauncy. His tenure of office extended only from 1672–1675. No charge of incompetency or immorality was ever made against him; nevertheless, students and overseers, or more probably overseers first and students under their instigation, combined to oblige him to resign. He was an importation from England. Breadth of view was not a conspicuous virtue of the forefathers, and prejudice was strong against men from the old country, who, through whatever influence, came to occupy positions in the Colony which the colonists considered themselves better entitled to fill, through ampler knowledge of local character of men and local needs. Students and the public in the British colonies to-day resent, under like circumstances, the intrusion of a stranger, and this same feeling probably explains the unaccountable aversion to poor Dr. Hoar. The Rev. Mr. Oakes, who was the prime mover in inciting opposition to him, was chosen his successor.

Starvation and obloquy were poor return for honest service and hard work, and therefore it is not surprising that the position of president of Harvard, though one of the most honourable posts in the Colony, was offered and declined by several distinguished clergymen. Dr. John Rogers, who had studied medicine as well as divinity, held the post for a year. Cotton Mather says of this learned man that he was "distinguished by his long

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prayer in chapel; but one day, without being able to give reason for it, he was not so long, it may be by half, as he used to be."

The inspiration which induced the president to cut short his prayer, saved the college from conflagration, for had the prayer been three minutes longer, a fire, which had caught in one of the students' rooms, would have been beyond control.

When in 1685 the Rev. Increase Mather accepted the office until a permanent appointment would be made, he did so out of a disinterested sense of duty, without resigning his pastoral charge. As usually happens in such cases, the combination of duties did not tend to harmony and was the reverse of temporary.

The course of study was not what we could consider comprehensive and liberal, but it was framed on the standards of the day. President Dunster composed the *Statuta, Leges, Privilegia, et Ordinationes*. The matriculation requirements were that "Every man competent to read Cicero or any other classic author of that kind extemporaneously, and also to speak and write Latin prose and verse with tolerable skill and without assistance, and of declining the Greek nouns and verbs, may expect to be admitted to the College; if deficient in any of these qualifications, he cannot under any circumstances be admitted."¹

Residence was required, as was the rule of the colleges of English universities, though not of the Scotch and Continental. The fee for board at the common room and the tutorial fees were not excessive, nor were the rules for conduct harsh or exacting. Cotton Mather explains in detail, with less circumlocution and fewer Latin quotations than is his wont, the

¹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, p. 24.

course of study and the daily routine imposed on the students.¹

Although the college was intended primarily as a school for the sons of the prophets and was established at the instigation of the Puritan ministers and sustained by their appeals and efforts, religious tests were not imposed on either teachers or scholars.

The first two presidents were known to be Baptists. Dunster, it is true, was deposed, but not so much on account of his leanings towards the Baptist persuasion as because he too openly propounded his opinion. No

¹ "When scholars had so far profited at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in *verse* as well as *prose*; and perfectly decline the *paradigms* of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard-Colledge; and, upon the examination, were accordingly admitted by the President and Fellows; who, in testimony thereof, signed a copy of the Colledge laws, which the scholars were each of them to transcribe and preserve, as the continual remembrancers of the duties whereto their priviledges obliged them. While the *President* inspected the *manners* of the students, thus entertained in the Colledge, and unto his morning and evening prayers in the hall joined an *exposition* upon the chapters; which they read out of Hebrew into Greek, from the *Old Testament* in the morning, and out of English into Greek, from the *New Testament* in the evening; besides what Sermons he saw caused to preach in publick assemblies on the Lord's day at Cambridge, where the students have a particular gallery allotted unto them; the Fellows resident on the place became Tutors to the several classes, and after they had instructed them in the Hebrew language, led them through all the *liberal arts*, ere their first *four years* expired. And in this time, they had their weekly *declamations*, on Fridays in the Colledge-hall, besides publick *disputations*, which either the President or the Fellows moderated. Those who then stood candidates to be graduates, were to attend in the hall for certain hours, on Mondays, and on Tuesdays, three weeks together towards the middle of June, which were called 'weeks of visitation'; so that all comers that pleased might examine their skill in the *languages* and *sciences* which they now pretended unto; and usually, some or other of the overseers of the Colledge would on purpose *visit* them, whilst they were thus doing what they called 'sitting of solstices'; when the *commencement* arrived—which was formerly the second Tuesday in August, but since, the first Wednesday

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deflection from pure doctrine was allowed to go unchecked without the college; if detected within, it was considered the duty of the Church to deal with it.

The rigidity of their doctrinal opinions and their firm conviction of the necessity of upholding them, make the liberality of the charter and constitution the more remarkable. Quincy says¹: "The first Constitution of Harvard College, established in 1642, in enumerating the powers granted and the objects proposed to be attained by its foundation, makes use of these simple and memorable terms; To make and establish all such orders, statutes, and constitutions, as they shall see necessary for instituting, guiding and furthering of the said college, and the several members thereof, from time to time, in *piety*, morality and learning." Nor does the charter of 1650, although it somewhat varies the expressions, introduce anything indicative of a design to give the institution a sectarian bias. Its objects are in this charter stated to be, "the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences," and "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and *godliness*." The only terms used in either of these charters connecting this institution

in July—they that were to proceed Bachelors, held their *act* publicly in Cambridge; whither the magistrates and ministers, and other gentlemen then came, to put respect upon their exercises; and these exercises were, besides an oration usually made by the president, orations both *salutatory* and *valedictory*, made by some or other of the commencers, wherein all *persons* and *orders* of any fashion then present, were addressed with proper complements, and reflections were made on the most remarkable occurrents of the preceding year; and these orations were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also; and some of them were in verse, and even in Greek verse, as well as others in prose. But the main exercises were *disputations* upon questions, wherein the *respondents* first made their *theses*.—"Magna
Christi Americana, 1853, II., pp. 12-13.

¹ *History of Harvard University*, pp. 46-47.

with the religious principle, are "*piety*" and "*godliness*"; terms of all others the least susceptible of being wrested to projects merely sectarian.

The cardinal principle of the Reformation, that no human barrier should intervene between the conscience of man and his God, was recognised in theory, if not always in act; but the Puritan fathers were honest and consistent enough not to deny it in such a public instrument as the organic law of their college. Towards the end of the century, however, when the church authorities felt that they were losing their political control over the Colony, and over the management of the college, they tried to replace the old liberal charter by another which would have made the college implicitly an appendage of the Congregational Church. Fortunately they failed.

The history of the college during the closing decade of the century is a striking commentary on the woes of an institution which is subject to the vicissitudes of political storms. In Canada the inflexible rule of the Church, and of the ecclesiastical orders obedient to the Church, maintained a uniformity in the organisation of the educational staff and the methods of study in the Jesuit College and the Seminary. In New England the Congregational Church had been able to secure the political control and retain it for more than half a century, by making church membership the qualification of the franchise. A theocratic state under a religious oligarchy was created, but the conditions were so opposed to the inevitable tendencies of extreme Protestantism, which Congregationalism professed, and of the practice of individual freedom, which was inculcated by Protestantism, that the anomaly could not last. Moreover, the growing influence of the colonies commercially, as well as politically, owing to their contact with and hostility to-

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wards the neighbouring colony of New France, required that England should inaugurate a colonial policy which would give her some control over her offspring. Changed conditions therefore rendered inevitable a change in the political relations between the New and Old England, and almost obliged the mother country to interfere in a manner from which the colonies had been relieved. This relief from interference was largely due to the stirring events which had agitated England till the accessions of William and Mary. Revolutions and sovereigns of such different tempers had succeeded one another with such rapidity and startling results, that neither statesmen nor people gave much heed to what was happening, so unobtrusively, on the bleak American shore, without authority or even consultation with the home authorities. But once stability of government was secured in Great Britain, the colonial question had to be considered. It was really never solved. Their attempt at securing some control of the colonies created disturbance of the ecclesiastical influence which Congregationalism had maintained, and therefore affected the government of the college, not, however, injuriously.

One of the most conspicuous members of the colonial delegation to England, which discussed and accepted the new constitution, was the Rev. Increase Mather, who had for seven years been a pluralist, as elder of the North or Second Congregational Church of Boston and president of Harvard College, and had been for about four years absent on his political mission in England. It was to his credit that he could recognise the signs of the times, and make concessions; but as even judicious compromises were not one of the Puritan virtues, the Reverend Mr. Mather had to defend himself against "the charge of inconsistency." He recognised that



Rev. Increase Mather.

From an old painting.

the political power which the Church exercised was an element of popular dissatisfaction in the Colony, and liable to occasion a breach with the parent state. And therefore he approved of the new charter secured for Massachusetts from William and Mary, which gave the colony a representative Assembly, though under a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, and a Secretary appointed by the Crown. The new charter contained another provision which was objectionable to the Church party. It vested the franchise, not in church members, but in voters with a certain property qualification. The Council, which in the first draft of the charter consisted of nominees of the Crown, it was subsequently agreed should be chosen by the General Court and should consist of the Governor, the Court, and the House of Representatives. Massachusetts and Plymouth were united in a single Province. Connecticut and New Haven had already been consolidated. Their old charter and that of Rhode Island were confirmed. And thus the geographical limits, as well as the political status, of the several colonies were settled, till disturbed by the American Revolution. But these constitutional changes affected acutely the university. The family of the Mathers, from the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, had been identified with Congregationalism, in its straightest ecclesiastical sense, and as an element in a system of political theocracy.

In discussing Mr. Mather's ambiguous position as president of the college, Mr. Quincy says he "was appointed to the superintendence of the institution in 1685, immediately afterward made Rector, and soon President. He held the relation to it of head for sixteen years; during all which time he was not resident at Cambridge (six months excepted); four of which

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years he was in Europe; and during eight he was perpetually assailed by votes of one or the other branch of the General Court, and required to be resident at the College. All these requisitions he found means to evade, until 1701. Being then compelled by the urgency of the General Court to reside there or resign, he considered himself extremely ill treated; and his son Cotton declares 'his abdication was not brought about as fairly as it should have been,' and takes credit to himself 'for not telling the whole story.'¹

When Increase Mather in 1685 was requested by the overseers to "take special care for the Government of the College," he did so with the understanding that he remain minister of the Boston church and reside there, and therefore for that year his salary from the General Court was paid—not to him—but "for the encouragement of such as had done the work," who were John Leverett and John Cotton, the former of whom was about that period a fellow and tutor. This single act of disinterestedness may have, in his own judgment, excused the obstinacy with which Mather determined to be retained in pastoral charge of his Boston church, as well as the presidency of the college, and his persistent refusal to obey the injunction of the General Court requiring him to take up his residence at Cambridge. His opposition to King James's arbitrary governor, Andros, and the obnoxious tax collector, Randolph, pointed to him as the representative of the people in securing a new charter to replace the patent of 1628, which was cancelled in 1688. He delegated his college duties to another. He arrived in England while James II was still on the throne; but, fortunately for his credit and the success of his negotiations before

¹ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, p. 56.

the year terminated General Monk's *coup d'état* and William and Mary's accession to the throne had secured to England Protestant domination and a more friendly attitude by the administration to New England. He brought back in 1702 the new charter for the colony to which we have referred, but an impaired reputation. He re-entered on his duties of president, but in a half-hearted spirit, and could not be induced or compelled to live in Cambridge. The taste of diplomatic life, which he had enjoyed in England, was sweet to him. His desire was to return to the old country as representative of the colony, in order to secure a royal charter for the college. His journal and that of his son, Cotton, in the matter of the English mission, exhibit characteristically the self-delusion into which mortals fall when they undertake to interpret their wishes as divine messages.

No royal charter was obtained. The draft of the one sent to England, for the royal signature was returned unsigned. The first provincial charter was also rejected because the government of the college was vested in ten persons, uncontrolled by a board of overseers. Between the date of 1692, when the provincial charter was granted by the colonial legislature, and the year 1696, when it was returned unsigned by the King, the college had been managed as though its provisions were in force. Confusion reigned when the royal veto left the institution without any organic existence. Judge Stoughton, of witch-trial reputation, who was acting governor, "desired and appointed" the former president, fellows, and treasurer "to continue and proceed in the institution and government of the house, and in the management of the estate of the College, according to the late rules of said College, until his Majesty's farther pleasure shall be known, or a legal settlement of

said College shall be obtained." This proceeding, at the time, was deemed so critical and important, that it was spread in detail on the records of the Corporation, and the memory of it is carefully preserved in the Diaries of President Mather and Chief-Judge Sewall, both of whom were present on the occasion. The Corporation, however, so far as appears by their records, never held but one meeting under the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton. This occurred on the 9th of the ensuing November, when the Corporation passed a vote, declaring that "the obtaining a charter of incorporation for the College would be of singular advantage to the churches of New England, both in present and after times, and that, while it continued as at present, an unhappy settlement of it might be feared, donations to it be obstructed, and its present stock endangered! For the obtaining of it, they vote an humble address to his Majesty, and pray the Lieutenant-Governor 'to facilitate the affair'; voting at the same time an address to him, acknowledging his care and favour, and particularly expressing 'their humble thanks for his late visitation and settlement of the College.'"

Another charter was framed, making the Governor and Council visitors, and a bill, legalising it, was passed by the Council, but opposed by the clergy, and rejected by the Deputies. A bill with the same object had a better fate in 1697. None of them received the royal sanction, but Governor Bellamont in his first message at the opening of the General Court in 1799, informed the General Court that "he would very gladly promote a charter of incorporation for the College at Cambridge, and would heartily join in an address to his Majesty for his royal grant of such privileges and franchises as his Majesty, in his goodness, shall think

fit."¹ The bill, as drafted, vested the visitatorial power in "his Majesty and his Governor and Commander-in-chief, for the time being, of his Province." This was objectionable, but not as offensive to a large body of the people as the introduction of a religious qualification, at the instigation of eight influential ministers, "who were members of the late Corporation of Harvard College." The objectionable clause read:

"We do more particularly pray, that, in the charter for the College, our holy religion may be secured to us and unto our posterity, by a provision, that no person shall be chosen President, or Fellow, of the College, but such as declare their adherence unto the principles of reformation, which were espoused and intended by those who first settled the country and founded the College, and have hitherto been the general profession of New England."

The bill was passed with the religious qualification clause, worded even more forcibly, for it placed the government of the college under the control of those who held by the "principles of reformation, which were espoused and intended by those who first settled the country and founded the College, and have hitherto been the profession and practice of the generality of the churches of Christ in New England." It thus excluded, not only Episcopalians, but adherents of a growing faction in the Congregational Church itself, which opposed the imposition of such rigid religious tests for admission to church membership as were required by the primitive church of the province, and therefore there was not unanimity by the church itself in favour of the draft. His Excellency objected to the bill.

The controversy of a new charter was revived in 1700. The Governor suggested in his speech that the King be

¹ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, p. 97.

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addressed "for the royal charter of privilege." But the House of Representatives rejected the suggestion. It preferred drafting a charter and submitting it for signature to his Majesty. A charter was drafted and rejected, which omitted the religious qualification, but likewise struck from the act the names of two members of the Corporation, John Leverett and Thos. Brattle, who were obnoxious to the extreme clericals, headed by the Mathers. The college was made a political and ecclesiastical football till 1707, when Mr. John Leverett, who had been long connected with the college as fellow, and as member of the corporation, was elected as the first lay president, at the salary of £150, instead of the £250. The salary had been reduced to compel the Rev. Mr. Mather to live at Cambridge. On his refusal to permanently take up his abode in Cambridge and abandon his Boston home and church, his resignation was accepted in 1701. The choice of successor fell on the Rev. Samuel Willard, but as he also refused to reside in Cambridge, he was named superintendent, and elected vice-president, which office he held for six years, while really fulfilling the functions of the presidency. It was only on his death in 1707 that Mr. John Leverett was chosen, to the horror of the clergy and the great gain of the college.¹ The controversy over the charter was summarily settled by appending to the vote of £150 for the president's salary the following clause:

"And, inasmuch as the first foundation and establishment of that House and the government thereof had its original from an act of the General Court, made and passed in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, which has not been repealed or annulled:

"The President and Fellows of the said College are

¹ Quincy, p. 201.

directed from time to time to regulate themselves according to the rules of the constitution by the act prescribed; and to exercise the powers and authorities thereby granted for the government of that House, and support thereof."¹

Governor Dudley signed the bill, and it became law, though it contradicted the claim which the home government had asserted through the mouth of Dudley himself that "the charter was only an act of incorporation and did not confer the right of creating a charter, and that even if it did, it had been abrogated in 1684." Thus the charter to the most prominent University in the New World is a mere rider appended to a money bill.

The decline of godliness and the abandonment of some of the earlier rules of the college, especially the omission of the daily scriptural exposition, began even before the election of the lay president. These relaxations were reason for the creation of Yale, when the Congregationalists of Connecticut, fearful of a relapse to indifferentism, or even to Episcopalianism, established a separate college in New Haven, the condition of admission to which was "reciting *memoriter* the 'Assembly's Catechism,' in Latin, Dr. Ames's 'Medulla,' and also his 'Cases of Conscience,' accompanied, on the Sabbath by expositions of practical theology, and the repeating of sermons by the undergraduates; and on week days by reading and expounding the Scriptures according to the laudable order and usage of Harvard College."² Yale received the sympathy and support of the strictest of the Massachusetts Congregationalists, who rejoiced over the flourishing state of the Connecticut college, "as it would be some relief to us, against the sorrow we have conceived from the decay of them in this Province."

¹ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

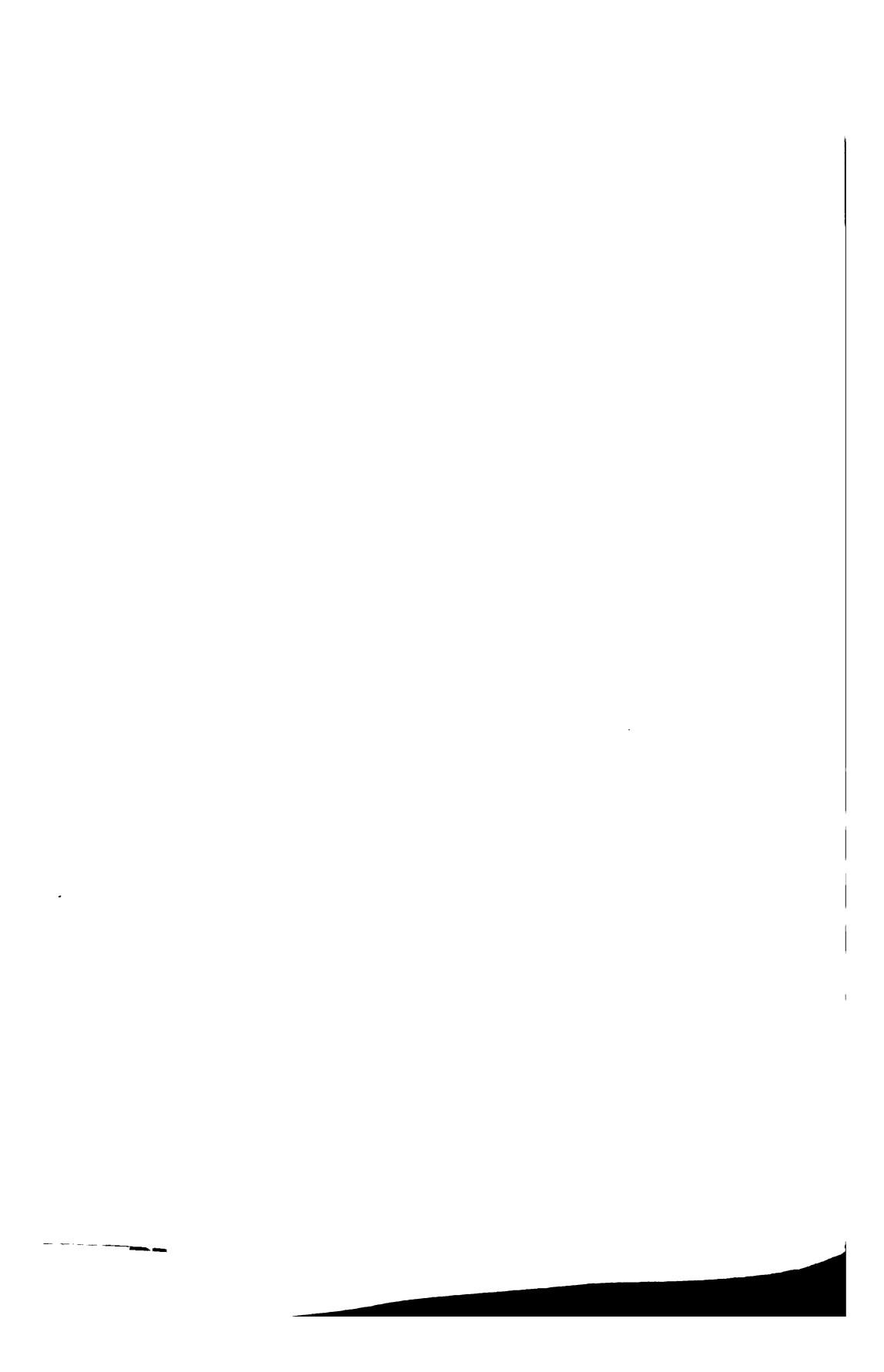
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All that can be learnt regarding the curriculum and the college life of those days is probably condensed in the few pages of Quincy's *History of Harvard University* (pp 188–194).¹

"Touching discipline, the course of studies, and the nature and efficiency of literary instructions in the College during the seventeenth century, our means of information are limited and unsatisfactory. Its discipline, unquestionably, partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. Tradition represents it to have been severe, and corporal punishments to have been among the customary sanctions of College laws. The immediate government kept no record of their proceedings. The tutors chastised at discretion, and on very solemn occasions the overseers were called together, either to authorise or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. Judge Sewall, in his Diary, relates an instance of the mode in which these were inflicted, illustrative of the manners of the age, and of the discipline of the College. It occurred in 1674. The offence was 'speaking blasphemous words.' After examination by the Corporation, the offence was submitted to the overseers for advisement. The offender was sentenced to be 'publicly whipped before all the scholars,' to be 'suspended from taking his bachelor's degree,' and 'to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows,' to be obedient in all things, and, in default, to be finally expelled from the College. The execution of the sentence was no less characteristic than its nature. It was twice read publicly in the Library, in the presence of all the scholars, the government, and such of the overseers as chose to attend. The offender having kneeled, the President prayed, after which the corporal punishment was inflicted; and the solemnities were closed by another prayer from the President. More than a century elapsed after the foundation of the College, before corporal punishments were obliterated from its code.

"In relation to the course of studies, and the degree of literary instruction in the seminary during this period, little exact and authentic information exists. 'So much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully, or any like classical author, and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in declining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs,' were the chief, if not the only requisites for admission. The exercises of the students had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretical observations on the language, and logic, of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and





The curriculum of university study was much the same everywhere, though the thoroughness of the classical education must have differed widely.

The highly trained Jesuit teachers in Canada may have turned out better Latin scholars than the tutors of Harvard, but this did not train boys into as aggressive and masterful men. The breadth of thought engendered by the tenets of Protestantism, and the political freedom claimed and practised by the emigrants to New England, whether they approved of or opposed the

repeating them publicly in the hall. The studies of the first year were 'logic, physics, etymology, syntax, and practice on the principles of grammar.' Those of the second year, 'ethics, politics, prosody, and dialects, practice of poesy, and Chaldee.' Those of the third, 'arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew and Syriac.'

"In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter, and in nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month.

"Such were the principles of education established in the College under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear, that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century.

"An early, systematic attempt to extend the advantages of a liberal education to the aborigines was made by the first settlers of Massachusetts in the vicinity of Harvard College, and under the auspices of its governors. Daniel Gookin, the active and earnest associate of Eliot in civilising the Indians, thus speaks concerning the project and the result. 'The design was prudent, noble, and good, but it proved ineffectual.' Some of the scholars died. Some, after making good proficiency, grew disheartened, and returned to their native haunts. A few became schoolmasters and mechanics among the natives. Those, who persevered fell victims to consumption, the effect of the 'change of diet, lodging, apparel, and studies.' A single individual, 'Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Indus,' stands alone on the Catalogue of the graduates of Harvard College; the only representative of the native tribes.

"The number of students graduated at the College, from its foundation to the presidency of Leverett, was five thousand and thirty-one, one half of whom became in after life clergymen; a proportion which that profession had maintained through the whole period."

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theocratic pretensions of the Congregational Church, produced a widely different mental attitude in the students of the English colonial colleges to that resulting from the inculcation of blind religious receptivity and the political inactivity, imposed on the scholars of the Jesuit and Sulpician colleges in Canada.

The means of support extended to the college of New England differed from those which the educational institutions in Canada received. Large tracts of land were bestowed on the Jesuits, not ostensibly for the maintenance of their college, but the revenue from which was used by them for its support as well as the general expenses of their missionary work. The Sulpicians became the owners of the valuable seignory of the Island of Montreal. But the public treasury contributed nothing towards popular education.

On the other hand the English colonists seem to have been jealous of the ownership of land by Harvard. In the college charter drafted by Increase Mather in 1692 the right to hold lands to the value of £4000 per annum and unlimited personal estate was conferred. In the next charter, drafted in 1696, after the rejection of that of 1692, land to the value of £2000 annual revenue might be owned. In the next charter, which was again rejected, this amount was increased to £3000. It is evident, therefore, that corporate ownership of land was a subject of much debate and upon which the people felt sensitively. And yet donations of land which to-day brings in wealth, the potential value of which the donors of those days could not have estimated, were a favorite method of private benefaction.

Sir Richard Saltonstall came over in 1630, but returned to England. He gave money and good advice such as this; "By compelling any in matters of religion, you make many hypocrites." His son subscribed £104

in 1654 to repair buildings, and afterwards sent from England £320.

Robert Keayne, a wealthy merchant, who had been convicted by the church, and fined by the Deputies £200 for "selling dearer than most traders," forgave his official persecutors, and left £1200 for public use, of which £250 went to Harvard, but not to be spent on buildings, "for buildings and halls it belongs to the public to find."

Edward Hopkins, a wealthy London merchant, came over in 1637: moved to Connecticut, and lived at Hartford, filling public office. He returned to England in 1652. He left £1000 to Connecticut and £500 to Massachusetts institutions vested in trustees. Well invested, the capital now amounts to \$30,000.

Israel Stoughton like Keayne felt the lash of undeserved persecution for publishing a book criticising the magistrates. But unlike Keayne, he repented and "desired the court to cause his book to be burned." He went to England, fought for the Commonwealth and left 300 acres of valuable land to the college in the town of Dorchester. His son, William Stoughton, remained in New England, graduated at Harvard in 1650, and after preaching for twenty years, abandoned the ministry to become a magistrate and a politician. His career was brilliant but inconsistent. His name is infamous as the Witchcraft Judge, and yet his attitude was worthy of all commendation when he coöperated with Dudley to insure peace at a critical period of the Colony's history. He gave £1000 for a college building, which was so badly built that it was torn down in 1780. He left also the rent of twenty-seven acres of land to endow a scholarship.

Stoughton Hall, erected in 1806, commemorates Stoughton's generosity.

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A Henry Webb bequeathed a house and land in Cornhill, now one of the most productive portions of the college's estate; also £50 for a scholarship.

John Bulkley, in 1645, deeded an acre of land in Cambridge.

Sir Mathew Holworthy, a wealthy English merchant, showed his confidence in the judgment of the corporation by the terms of his liberal gift. "Item. I give and bequath unto the College or University in or of Cambridge, in New England, the sum of one thousand pounds (sterling), to be paid over to the Governors and Directors thereof, to be disposed of by them as they shall judge best for promoting of learning and promulgation of the Gospel in those parts; the same to be paid within two years after my decease."

Theophilus Gale bequeathed his large library to the college. It constituted for a long time more than half the college collection of books.

Thus by these and many other donations the seventeenth century set the example to the twentieth of liberal giving for the promotion of higher education and the twentieth century has generously responded.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION IN NEW FRANCE

COTTON MATHER says¹: "The first Possessors of this protestant and puritan country were zealous for an University, that should be more significant than the Seminaries of Canada and Mexico." He adds: "Whether the churches of New England have been duly careful or no, about their other schools, they have not been altogether careless about their *midrashoth* (divinity schools); and it is well for them that they have not." It is with reason that Mather alluded to the neglect of popular education in New England towards the end of the century in comparison with the attention bestowed on the higher. There would in fact seem to have been a retrogression at that period from the interest taken in public-school education by the fore-fathers of the men of Mather's time.

Both in New England and New France the aim of the university curriculum was to train ministers or priests. Professional teaching was not regarded as the functions of either Harvard or the Jesuit college. The dead languages were given prominence in English and Continental schools, and therefore in both the universities of New England and the higher schools of New France. But popular education was not in New France a function of the State, as it was in New England. In Canada, as in Roman Catholic countries, it was con-

¹ *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. ii., p. 9.

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trolled by the Church, and the Canadian schools were not supported from the public funds.

In New England there was early in its history symptoms of an awakening consciousness of the necessity of universal education. In Quebec, on the other hand, schools were confined to the larger towns or more densely populated districts, and were conducted by the religious communities.¹

Mather is correct in mentioning Mexico first, inasmuch as the university in the City of Mexico was created by royal charter in 1551, and was in full operation before the end of the century. Shortly after that date the French were attempting to colonise Acadie, but if there was any systematic teaching of the children of either the Indians or the whites by the Jesuits in the early settlement of Port Royal, Father Biard has left no record of it.

The first schoolmaster in Canada was the Recollet Brother Pacifique, who taught some little savages at Three Rivers as early as 1616. There were then no white children on the St. Lawrence, for the Sieur Hébert and wife landed in that same year with the first family accession to the Colony in their grown-up daughter Ann and one little boy. The second schoolmaster was Father Le Caron, of the same Order, who two years afterwards opened a school in Tadousac. The monks of Saint Francis, had their means been sufficient, might have established the seminary at Quebec, which

¹ The average of education among the New England colonists was of course higher than among the servants of the Company who went to Canada. Nevertheless, these were by no means destitute of learning. Gosselin says that in the Archives of the Seminary there are on documents between 1634 and 1680 eight hundred signatures by men of the laboring class. To three contracts between workmen and the Fur Company, *Compagnie du Canada*, for service at Fort Bourbon on Hudson Bay, three of the fifteen affixed their own signatures.—See Appendix to my *Quebec in the Seventeenth Century*.

their general syndic, M. Charles de Bouës, recognised as an essential adjunct to missionary work; but, once the Jesuits entered the field, higher education was felt to be rightfully within their province. On their return to Canada in 1632, after the Restoration, without the Recollets, Father Le Jeune promptly opened school with two scholars, and in 1635 the society built a school-house, in which they tried the co-education of white and red boys with very indifferent success. At first the teaching was of an elementary character, but in twenty years the school had developed into a college. Although elementary education was not imposed by the rules of the Order on the members of the Society of Jesus, they had to train Canadian children for their own college, and they gave secular education to Bishop Laval's pupils, who were drilled in his seminary as candidates for the priesthood. The Jesuits taught young children the elements of learning in their schools; and adult children the advanced branches in their Quebec college. It was not till the closing year of the century that the seminary established an elementary department. There were then about 200 children in Quebec, of whom about 100 were scholars in the Jesuits' elementary school.¹ The Sulpicians superintended education in Montreal. The Jesuit college was virtually extinguished as a college by the conquest of Canada in 1759, from which date the lesser seminary, organised by Bishop Laval, and whose pupils had previously received instruction in the Jesuit college, became an institution with a staff of professors which raised it to the dignity of a college.²

¹ Gosselin, *L'Instruction du Canada*, p. 44.

² The Jesuit college and school were not closed till 1776. The Jesuits were not expelled after the conquest, but they were forbidden to recruit their number.

Education, in fact, occupied the energies of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the colony, nor were women overlooked. There were before 1681 schools in the parishes of St. Joachim, Pointe aux Trembles, Château Richer, and on the island of Orleans, where the Sisters of the Congregation taught both girls and boys. At St. Joachim was the first technical school on the continent, training boys as farmers and artisans.

The census of 1681, after enumerating the establishment of the Governor at twenty-one persons, that of the Intendant at ten, and the military force in Quebec at twenty-one, gives in detail the staff of the seminary, the Jesuit college, the Recollet monastery, and the nunneries:

In the seminary were 25 clergy, including Monseigneur the Bishop, M. de Bernières, the Superior, and 23 priests (who likewise performed clerical functions), boarders 20, male servants 18, wives and daughters of the servants 4. At the farm of 60 arpents (acres) were 4 cows, 2 horses, 1 ass.

The household of the Jesuits consisted of: Priests 8, brothers 7, *frères donnés*¹ 4.

The Ursuline nunnery harboured: Mothers 22, sisters 7, French boarders 17, Indian boarders 10.

In Montreal, the Seminary of the Sulpicians was

¹ *Frères donnés* were laymen who pledged themselves to serve for life without other remuneration than their maintenance, in whatever class of labour might be imposed on them. The members of this lay order, as first organised to assist the missionaries, took a vow of service and wore a religious habit; and on the other hand the society undertook to maintain them till death, without any reservation. The Jesuit authorities in Rome refused to sanction the formation of what was substantially a sub-order; but when Father Lallemant proposed to abolish the habit, and to relieve the society from the obligation of perpetual maintenance, by claiming the right to discharge an unworthy servant, the General Vitelleschi permitted the institution of this class of helpers, who were most useful in the Western mission stations.

manned by 10 priests; and the schools of the Sisters of the Congregation, under Margaret Bourgeois, contained in Montreal and elsewhere, sisters 18, boarders 7.

The population of the colony was then 9677, and there were only 1568 families. As the unmarried men were numerous the number of children must have been small and therefore the proportion of the population engaged in education, namely 83, was large. It is noteworthy that all the teachers belonged to religious orders except the Little Sisters of Mademoiselle Bourgeois, who were under self-imposed vows and under strict ecclesiastical supervision¹ but were not constituted a religious order till 1701.

Female education held a higher place in the system of the Roman Catholic Church than in the Puritan, and the creation of the rigid rules of the teaching orders supplied the machinery wherewith the Church could apply its principles, even under such unpropitious conditions as Canada presented.

The Ursuline nuns then as now taught day scholars as well as boarders and their school at Quebec at that date was the only agency for imparting higher female education. Though they had on their roll ten little savages, the hope with which Mme. de la Peltre and her friend Mère Marie de l'Incarnation had founded the nunnery, namely, that it would be a training school for Indian girls, when they wished to fit themselves for becoming the wives of French bachelors, was fading year by year. Experience

¹ But laymen were employed under direct supervision. Gosselin, in his *L'Instruction du Canada*, copies a contract between the Seminary and Martin Boutet, of date Sept. 2, 1651, in which Boutet engages to teach the children the plain songs and to drill them in the ceremonies of the choir. He offers to take two boarders at 100 livres each, to be paid by the Fabrique. His total remuneration was 800 livres.—Pages 37 and 454.

showed that French husbands were more prone to follow their squaws into the forest than the squaws were to settle down into French housewives. Nevertheless Frontenac himself still cherished the belief that he could win the Western tribes over to the French side by nobler motives than the desire of mere gain, and in his cortège from Fort Frontenac there were generally some Indian girls, whom he was bringing to Quebec to be educated and civilised by the Ursulines.

The standard of female education was not high in those days. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation said in 1661: "Some pupils remain six or seven years, others in the short space of twelve months must be taught their prayers, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the Church's doctrines and morals,—in short, all that is most essential in the education of females." But if the girls were not crammed with learning, they were taught the exquisite graces of courtesy and reverence for holy things, which, grafted on their native vivacity, created a delightful type of female character which still prevails in Quebec. And probably a still more limited range of studies comprised all that was taught in Montreal and vicinity by the Sisters of the Congregation.

A letter to her son by Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the Superior of the Ursulines, describes the education which they gave to French and Indian girls. Incidentally the Mother explains the cause of the freedom of manner which even then characterised Canadian girls. While making an apology for the Jesuits who ignored, in the *Relations*, the labours of all other agencies, clerical and secular, except their own, she cannot conceal the irritation which their literary publications excited among the religious bodies in the colony. She says:

"To begin with, we have permanently seven nuns

(*religieuses de chœur*) engaged in the instruction of French girls, in addition to two lay sisters (*converses*) engaged in outside work. The Indian girls are lodged and boarded with the French, but to instruct them we need one special teacher and sometimes even more, when their number increases. Just now, to my extreme regret, I must refuse admission to seven Algonquin scholars because we could not provide them with even food, the commissariat having secured all available provisions for the Royal Troops. Ever since our arrival in Canada, despite our poverty, we have not turned any from our door, and therefore the necessity which now obliges us to reject these girls causes me sincere sorrow, but we must submit to an exigency, so exacting that we have been obliged to send some of our French girls back to their parents. We have had to restrict our scholars to sixteen French and three Indians, two of whom are Iroquois, one of them a captive, to whom we are requested to endeavour to teach French. I make no reference to the large number of poor with whom we have to share what is left.

"In this country great pains are taken to educate the French girls, and I can assure you that but for the care exerted by the Ursulines, their salvation would be in constant danger. The reason is that there are so many men. As a consequence, a father and mother, if they do not omit attendance at mass on feast days or Sundays, must leave their children at home with several men to keep them company; and if they have daughters, no matter what their age, they are in evident risk, and therefore must be committed to some place of safety. I must admit, therefore, that girls in this country know much more on dangerous subjects than their sisters in France. Thirty boarders here give us more trouble than sixty in France. Our day pupils give us some

anxiety, but we cannot watch over their morals as sedulously as if they were boarders. They are tractable, of good temperament, and firm in following their duty when it is pointed out to them, but as many of them are boarders for a short time, the teacher must instil a great deal of education into them during their limited residence, such as teaching them to read, write, learn their prayers and the code of Christian morals, and all else which it is necessary a girl should know. There are, however, some parents who leave their daughters under our care till they reach an age to enter the world or adopt a religious life. We have eight who have professed, as novices, and have decided not to return to the world. They are good girls, having been brought up in complete innocence, and there are others who, rather than return to their homes, prefer remaining in the House of God. Two of them are daughters of Monsieur de Lozon, well known in France, who are awaiting the return of Monsieur de Lozon Carny to enter on their novitiate.

"We take Indian girls of all ages. It happens that if an Indian, whether a Christian or a Pagan, wishes to commit a breach of duty and carry off some one of his nation to keep her against the law of God, she is committed to us and we teach and protect her till the Reverend Fathers (the Jesuits) come and remove her. Others come and go like birds of passage, and remain only till they become homesick, when their parents take them away, lest they die. While we do not give them full liberty in this respect, by humouring them we win them over better by persuasion rather than retaining them by force. Others persevere and we bring them up as French girls. We look after their welfare and they do well. One of them was given to M. Boucher, who was afterwards governor of Three Rivers. But

others, who speak French and read and write, return to their parents.

"These are the fruits of our labours, of which I wish to relate in detail. We must make some response to the rumours, which you say are current, that the Ursulines are useless in this country, because the *Relations* do not mention them as doing anything. Our Reverend Fathers and our Bishop are enthusiastic as to the education we are giving young girls. On administering the first communion to our scholars of eight years old they are found as well instructed as children can possibly be at that age. If it is argued that we are useless, because the *Relations* overlook us, it must be equally inferred that our Bishop is useless, that the Seminary is useless, that the College of the Reverend Fathers themselves is useless, that the Priests of Montreal are useless, and that even the Hospital Nuns are useless, because the *Relations* never mention any of them. And nevertheless it is they which supply the support, the strength, and the very honour of the whole country. If the *Relations* treat with silence us, as well as the other orders and the seminaries, of which I have spoken, it is because they relate only the progress of the Gospel and what advances it. Besides which, after the manuscript is sent from here it is revised, much of it is stricken out in France. Mme. the Duchess of Sennessay, who does me the honour of writing to me every year, told me last year of the pleasure she had derived from reading some extracts which they had cut out, and she repeats the same thing this year. M. C., who prints the *Relations*, and who loves dearly the Hospital Nuns, has inserted, on his own responsibility, a letter from the Superior of the Hospitalières, which has created quite a commotion in France. My very dear son, what we do in this new Church is seen of God, not of men. Our

seclusion covers us entirely and it is difficult for others to speak of what they cannot see. It is quite otherwise of the Hospital Nuns. The Hospital is open to all and the good these Sisters do, being obvious to all the world, one can praise with good reason their exemplary charity. But in truth they and we look for the reward of our labours to Him who can read the secrets of the heart, and to whom darkness is as light. We are therefore content."¹

The Jesuits opened a college before the end of the century in Montreal but it did not flourish.

Rochemonteix tells us, in a note to page 364 of volume iii of his *Jésuites et La Nouvelle France*, that the *Résidence de Montréal* was founded only in 1692, by permission of Monseigneur de St. Vallier, and that P. Vaillant de Gueslis was the first Superior. A school must have been at once opened, for Frère Jean Cauchetièr, in a letter to his brother, in 1694, says: "My occupation this year will be the same as during the last—namely, that of proto-regent of Ville Marie, with 12 or 15 pupils; and I teach mathematics to some young men who are officers in the troops. On Sundays we have our confessions, which keep us busy; and on the first Sunday of the month it is most often I who preach. The gentlemen of St. Sulpice observe certain outward relations with us. In the principal feasts we go with them into the choir to hear the offices, and chant vespers, and even in the processions. There is an agreement between them and us that we shall each say a mass for them, and they say one for us once a year,—we on the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, and they during the octave of St. Ignatius; and when any one dies on either side, we say the usual prayers

¹ Quebec the 9th August, 1668, p. 257 of the edition of her letters of 1681.

for the dead. Nevertheless, they are very hierarchical. The order of our college is to enter at 9 o'clock, and the mass is said at 10. In the afternoon, I enter at 3 o'clock; and at 4 I teach mathematics until 5."

But the school was evidently not able to draw pupils away from the Sulpicians; for in another paragraph of the same letter he says: "I know not what will become of me. As our college of Ville Marie is not endowed, we are not of opinion that a teacher should be maintained there any longer. We teach, however, and I am preparing myself to continue my mathematics. I have two or three pupils on the ships, and one is second pilot on a King's ship. Nevertheless, our Rev. Father Superior always tells me to hold myself ready to go to the Iroquois, if peace is made; or to go to Hudson's Bay."

In another letter the same priest says: "It was also determined that I should go up to Missilimakainac, to assume the direction of the Huron Mission. Finally, I remained here, where we have a sort of college, which is not endowed; but I think the gentlemen of Ville Marie will not have it long unless they endow it, because the revenues are very slight. I have pupils who are good fifth-class scholars; but I have others with beards on their chins, to whom I teach navigation, fortification, and other mathematical subjects. One of my pupils is pilot on the ship which sails to the north. Moreover, we hear confessions on Sundays and holidays, and preach once a month in our church."

With the exception of the seminary maintained by the Sulpicians in Montreal, the Jesuit College in Quebec was, till the conquest, practically the only seat of learning in Canada equipped to supply a general education. Ferland gives the number of students at the Jesuit College in 1668 as 120, of whom sixty were boarders.

Lahontan, in 1684, describes the college as so small that it could accommodate only fifty pupil-boarders at a time, and La Potherie tells us that eighty of the Jesuits' pupils were youths who had been enrolled at the seminary, but who pursued their general studies at the college, where, according to Bishop Saint Vallier, they acquired as great aptitude and facility as the best educated youths in France.

The available information as to the course of study and the manner of life within the college is scanty. The latter has probably little changed, in similar institutions of the kinds, even to-day; the former, we know, has been greatly modified. Father Rochemonteix, in his *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, has collected many data, which we have freely used.

Before Kirke's conquest, René Rohault de Gamache, a devotee and afterwards a novice and a priest of the Order, gave 16,000 florins, gold coin, and an annual rental of 3000 livres, to immediately found and support a college in Quebec. The fall of Quebec prevented the realisation of his wish.

Father Lalemant writes to General Jean Paul Oliva with regard to the Jesuits' elementary school: "The thoughts of the founder can be expressed in few words—to aid and give spiritual instruction to the Canadians."

The instruction was thus undoubtedly, at first, very elementary and exclusively religious. But, in 1651, P. Ragueneau reports to the Superior that, besides a teacher of reading and writing, there were in the college a professor of grammar, another of mathematics, and sixteen scholars. By the year 1655, there were added professors of philosophy, rhetoric, and the humanities.

Elementary mathematics had always formed a sub-

ject of study, but M. Talon, the Intendant, regarding Canada as a nursery for the Marine of France, induced the Jesuits to open a class for instruction in higher mathematics and hydrography. They had among their number a layman (Frère-Donné le Sieur de Saint Martin) fit for the task, who became the precursor of a line of eminent teachers of mathematics, astronomy, and navigation, all Jesuit Fathers, provided by the King with apparatus and supported from the royal treasury.

The curriculum was extended when Bishop Laval decided to educate a native clergy, and, lacking a professional staff of his own, requested the Jesuits to teach theology. The professors of philosophy undertook this additional duty, for though M. de Beauharnais urges that, in consideration of the educational services of the Jesuits, the state pay the salary of 300 livres to an additional professor of philosophy, the recommendation was not agreeable to the King. He was willing to pay a professor of navigation, but not of philosophy, for, even in those days, there were advocates for a practical as opposed to a too exclusively theoretical training. Theology, having thus been added to the secular course of studies, the Jesuits continued to instruct youths for the priesthood long after the grand seminary was equipped.

The ruling motive of Loyola was to arrest the growth of heresy by bringing the Church into harmony with the progress of the age, and thus produce a counter-reformation within the Church itself. The agency by which he proposed to effect, and actually did effect, this momentous revolution was "higher education." He conceived the idea while yet an illiterate devotee in the monastery of Montserrat, where he had hung up his knight's sword, resolved to fight no longer under

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the orders of the King of Navarre but under those of the Pope. Loyola was a man of the world, and saw that the venom of heresy injected into all classes by Luther, Calvin, and the Dutch, English, and Scotch reformers, to say nothing of the hardly less pernicious spirit of scepticism and cynicism emanating from such scholars in the Church itself as Erasmus, far from being counteracted, would be inflamed by the noisy, vituperative abuse of the monks. He correctly judged that a body of priests must be reared up within the Church, who, while absolutely obedient to the See of Rome, could defend the Church's position by argument as well as by an example of pure and devout living. He foresaw, too, that the spread of liberal ideas in politics and religion could be checked among the youths of Europe, all aglow with the intellectual intoxication of the revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only by supplying them with as sound an education, based on as profound learning, as the best of the existing schools, colleges, and universities could offer, but imparted by professors who had been drilled, throughout a long novitiate, both as teachers and as priests, to make intellectual education subservient to religion, as taught by the Church of Rome.

To fit himself for formulating such a system, he went through thirteen years of hard study, which began only when he was thirty-three years of age. The constitution of the Order was framed by himself, with the assistance of the famous group of his early disciples, but it was formally promulgated only after his death. The duties and functions of the society are set forth as ten in number, the fourth being education. But though occupying only the fourth position, education stood really first among the means which the society used to influence the world; for whether fighting heresy in

Europe, or heathenism in Asia, or savagery in America, the one means which its members never neglected was the establishing of colleges and universities, where sound learning was taught, and strict morality observed. Only two years had elapsed after the foundation of the Order, which took place in 1540, before two colleges had been established—one in Portugal, and the other at Goa, in Hindustan, the latter by the greatest of Oriental missionaries, Saint Francis Xavier. This college, which grew in time into a university, teaching all the branches of a liberal education in every language of the Orient, with a staff of 120 learned professors, all thoroughly trained and disciplined members of the Order, became the parent of so many colleges in Japan, China, and elsewhere in the East, that by the time the Jesuits entered on their missionary labours in North America, it seemed as though they were almost certain to win to Christianity the whole East, through the persuasive influence of profound learning, directed towards the exposition of Christian doctrine.¹

¹ In presenting the Christian religion for acceptance, the Jesuits, with judicious elasticity, adopted such of the practices and prejudices of the great masses of humanity they were endeavouring to leaven as they did not consider contradictory to the teachings of their Divine Master. Unfortunately, their concessions in certain directions were regarded as laxity, and they were compelled by Rome to adhere more rigidly to Western rules. Then commenced the decline of their Eastern missions.

The controversy on Chinese Rites is interesting to the student of American history, as it brings into clear light the missionary methods of the Jesuits, whether applied to China or New France. They certainly tried to follow the Apostolic practice of making the transition from paganism to Christianity for their converts as easy as possible, by discriminating between essentials and non-essentials.

Francis Xavier, after carrying the Gospel to India and Japan, died on the island of Samian, when waiting to enter China as a missionary. Father Ricci, who followed, was successful in establishing churches in China, but by methods of which his successor, Father Lombard, disapproved. The Abbé Huc in his *Christianity in China* describes the

We cannot wonder that, under the stimulus of such magnificent success, the society promised itself a similar harvest in America. But the human material afforded by the North American Indian was widely different from that on which they had worked in the Orient. This the Fathers discovered even before they had com-

controversy on Rites, and incidentally, by illustrating the elastic adaptability of the Jesuit system to the exigencies of each separate mission, explains some of the sources of their success:

"Father Lombard, though feeling profound respect and admiration for the founder of the mission, did not entirely coincide in the opinion formed by Father Ricci of the religious and philosophical doctrines of China. Father Ricci, after having studied from the very commencement of his apostleship the character and genius of the nation whom he had been called to evangelise, had come to the conclusion that the best means that could be adopted for bringing the Chinese to a knowledge of the truth, would be to subscribe partly to the praises unceasingly lavished upon Confucius by both nation and government, by whom he was regarded as the wise man *par excellence*, the master of all science, and the legislator of the empire. He thought that in the doctrines advanced by this philosopher as to the nature of God, he found much that bore a considerable resemblance to those of Christianity, and that *Tien*, or Heaven, as conceived by the educated classes, was not the material and visible one, but the true God, the Lord of Heaven, the Supreme Being, invisible and spiritual, of infinite perfection, the creator of all things, the only God, in fact, whom Confucius directs his disciples to adore and worship.

"With regard also to the honours paid by the Chinese to their ancestors, Father Ricci had adopted the same idea, and looked from the same point of view. He was himself persuaded, and he endeavoured to persuade the other missionaries, that the sacrifices offered to ancestors were purely of a civil nature; and were solely offered in obedience to the feelings of veneration, filial piety and love, by which the Chinese had been, in all ages, inspired towards the authors of their being, and the wise men who had spread the benefits of science and civilisation over the empire. Ricci had thus concluded that these sacrifices, and national fêtes, if traced to their real sources in the principles of Chinese philosophy, formed no part of a superstitious and pagan worship but were simply of a civil and political nature, and might be still preserved, at any rate with regard to Confucius, and to their ancestors, by the Christian Chinese.

"Such was the opinion of Father Ricci, and of a large number of his brethren. It was a system that offered every facility to the missionaries,

menced to build their college, and while still endeavouring to collect a school of Indian children at Notre Dame des Anges. But if they could not convert the Indians through their schools, they could train the youths of the Colony into good scholars and faithful Catholics. Therefore they lost no time in building the college.

and that greatly assisted them in propagating the Christian faith. The ancient and only religion of the Chinese had always been confined to the worship of *Tien* (Heaven), of the wise men, and of their ancestors. The delusions of Tao-Sse, and the superstitions of the Bonzes, had captivated them at various periods, but had never obtained any well rooted belief, and never been made a part of their faith. By declaring that the worship of Heaven was similar to that of the true God, and that the homage paid to ancestors and to Confucius was a legitimate expression of filial piety towards the chiefs of families and the benefactors of the race, the missionaries were greatly favored by the Chinese ideas, instead of coming into collision with them, and never failed to become popular on that account, especially among the educated classes, who abandoned willingly the creed of the Bonzes and of Tao-Sse.

"Father Lombard looked at all these Chinese customs from a very different point of view. The esteem that he had felt for the talent and virtue of Father Ricci had induced him before to suspend his judgment, and his scruples as to the correctness of the system followed by this apostle; but when he found himself at the head of the mission, and responsible for all the errors that might arise, he considered it his duty to examine this important question with greater attention. He set himself seriously, therefore, to the study of the works of Confucius, and of his most celebrated commentators, and consulted such of the literary men as could throw a light on the subject, and in whom he could place confidence. Many of the other of the Jesuit missionaries entered into the controversy, and opinions were divided. Father Lombard wrote a book on the subject, in which it was examined to the bottom, and in which he came to the conclusion that the doctrine of Confucius and his disciples was tainted with materialism and atheism; that the Chinese in reality recognized no Universe; that their opinion was nothing but a subtle aërial substance; and finally that their views as to its immortality closely resembled the theory of Metempsychosis obtained from Indian philosophers. Regarded from this point of view, the customs of China appeared to Lombard and the missionaries who took his side, as an idolatry utterly incompatible with the sanctity of Christianity,—criminal acts, the impiety of which must be shown to the Chinese on whom, by the grace of God, the light of the Gospel had shone and

By that date the Order had existed for a century and its system of education had been formulated in the *Ratio Studiorum*, which has remained to our day the educational code of every Jesuit college throughout the world. So successful had the system proved that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there existed 769 colleges and universities, manned exclusively by Jesuit priests, and enrolling as students one quarter of a million of the most promising youths of the world.

That the Jesuit College in Quebec was planned and built on such a scale, that it was larger than all the public buildings of Quebec combined, only expressed the enthusiastic faith of the Order in its own high mission. Yet their school was virtually closed before the Order died out. Paradoxical as it may seem, both the success and the failure of the Jesuit body are probably due to the splendid education of its members. That men

which must be absolutely forbidden to all Christians, whatever might be their condition, or whatever part of the empire they might inhabit. The use of the words *Tien* and *Chang-Ti*, even, by which they designated the divinity, were interdicted. It will be seen from this how widely the rigorous orthodoxy of Father Lombard differed from the excessive tolerance of Father Ricci.

"Such was the commencement of the disagreements which afterwards proved more fatal to the prosperity of the missions than the most violent persecutions ever raised by the mandarins. They arose in the bosom of the Society of Jesuits, before missionaries of any other order arrived in China, and we shall, further on, see the dispute developing itself and assuming the lamentable form of a fierce contest. The discussion on Chinese rites, on the worship of ancestors and of Confucius, was not confined within the limits of the Celestial Empire, but spread over Europe, where, as in Asia, the controversy was carried on with the utmost acrimony and passion. Profuse dissertations and numerous pamphlets on the subject were scattered about everywhere; but, instead of bringing out the truth they served but to envelope it in still thicker obscurity, until at last the Church, with her sovereign and absolute authority, put an end to this long contest, and restored the peace which this time, it must be confessed, had not been broken by the pagans."



Jesuit College and Church, from Smart's Drawing, 1759.

so thoroughly trained intellectually should eschew politics was as impossible in politically developed Europe as in barbarous America, and it has been their interference in secular affairs that has brought them into conflict with the civil powers. On the other hand, the Order has for four centuries educated more scions of the governing classes than any other teaching body, and so attractive have its professors, whether as men, friends, or trainers, been to their pupils, that even such heretics as Voltaire have expressed only kindly recollections of the years of tuition spent in a Jesuit college. Moreover, their severe training has raised the Jesuits individually above the grossness into which too often the mendicant Orders have fallen, while their learning and greater breadth of view have given their faith in the essential truths of Christianity a more rational basis than that possessed by some other ecclesiastical bodies, whose orthodoxy was merely the doxy of the catechism and tradition. A fair and well-balanced judgment of this remarkable body of men and of the system under which they worked is as essential to any just estimate of the forces which have shaped Canadian history as is an unprejudiced view of Puritanism to a true comprehension of the story of the United States.

The Jesuits who taught as professors received no salaries, and their pupils paid no fees. In course of time the Society of Jesus became the richest corporation in the world, but the members of the Order never degenerated, by reason of its wealth, into sloth and luxury, and its boarders—*convicti*—were well fed and well housed. The Canadian fathers gladly submitted to extreme hardships and dangers in their missionary journeyings, living year after year in absolute isolation from all intellectual converse and social refinement; and

if when they returned to Quebec, they found awaiting them the innocent luxury of a good bed, their well-kept garden and grove, and a good dinner washed down with good wine, cooled, if it were not claret, with ice from their own ice house (Lahontan makes special mention of that useful addition to their establishment), he would be a captious critic who should begrudge them such well-earned comfort and refreshment.

Rochemonteix says that, according to the correspondence of the Superior preserved in the general archives, the principal exercises in the Quebec college, apart from the lectures of the professors, were *Les Répétitions, Sabbatine, et les Menstruales*. The *Répétitions* were held daily. Every Saturday, and at the end of each month, the students engaged in a *viva voce* argument, in the presence of a professor, on a subject prescribed in advance. The advocate expounded the thesis and defended it; his opponent maintained the contradictory proposition. The argument was in Latin, and the debaters were rigorously confined in their argument to the syllogistic method. These weekly and monthly disputations were private; but before the end of the scholastic year there was a great public debate. The first of these is referred to in the Journal of the Jesuits of the 2d of July, 1666. The Governor and all the functionaries of the State and Church were present. Louis Joliet, who afterwards accompanied Père Marquette to the discovery of the Mississippi, and Pierre de Francheville, were among the disputants; while Talon, the Intendant, joined in the debate *très bien*, according to the Journal, speaking, like others, in Latin.

It is unreasonable to criticise the course of study in Roman Catholic colleges of the seventeenth century by the canons of education of to-day. Quite independently

of the fact that education was conducted by ecclesiastics, to whom Latin was a sacred heritage, Latin was the language of science, in an age when the intercourse, either in person or by letter, between authors of different tongues was so slight, that it was a rare thing for a student to possess a knowledge of any modern language save his own.

The course of study was, therefore, exclusively classical till late in the century, as Father Brosnahan in his controversy with President Eliot admits. He allows that the twenty-five hours a week, constituting the class work of Jesuit scholars in the seventeenth century, were practically devoted to the exclusive study of Latin and Greek, in contrast to the course of study to-day in the Georgetown University, where little more than half of the student's time is devoted to the classical languages. As, therefore, purely commercial and utilitarian studies found no place in its curriculum, the training of the Jesuit College was hardly well fitted for making engineers or self-reliant colonists, however useful it may have been in whetting the wits and tongues of students for mastery in the rhetorical competition, which was so important an element in their system. The strict observance of rule; the profound reverence inculcated for authority; the minute introspection, preached and practised, into motives and courses of conduct; the close supervision, amounting to espionage, maintained over the pupils at all times, may have restrained boys from overt acts of immorality. But such a system must have weakened in their scholars their powers of initiative and of independent action and given them narrow and suspicious views of life, little conducive to effective co-operation with their comrades in the mighty task of winning the wilderness and holding it for France. This proved true, despite

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the fact that, as individuals, the French explorers outstripped all others. Where they failed was in combining their forces so as to hold the territories they discovered.

The points of difference between the methods of education pursued by the seminary, which virtually supplanted the Jesuit College, and the Jesuit system of education, were not great enough to make it easy to account for the decline of the one and the popularity of the other. The professors of the seminary watched their pupils as sedulously as did the Jesuits; nevertheless the peculiarly artificial training of the Jesuit Father must in some way have created a gap between his pupil and himself such as did not exist between the healthy, manly son of the *habitant*, or the independent city lad, and the seminary priests, who still recognised family ties and continued to be active members of the body social.

A specific cause of Jesuit unpopularity was undoubtedly the wealth of the Order, despite the unselfish use to which it was, in the main, turned. As no revenue accrued from the Jesuit College, education being free, and as a large staff of missionaries was supported by the Order, there was some reason for endowing it with considerable property. But the accumulation of real estate by the Order became, early in the Colony's history, a subject of suspicion. Their interest in the welfare of the Indian was unwarrantably coupled in the popular mind with an interest in the profits of the fur trade. Most of their large landed estate was acquired by gift from the Crown or from the trading companies in the seventeenth century. But whatever the income may have been or however used, the holding by a single religious body of nearly one million acres of the choicest land in the Colony created in the public mind a measure

of the same jealousy as was aroused in old France against the Church when it had become owner of about one third of the national domain. In France the irritation growing out of the exemption of church property, and of the estates of the privileged classes, from taxation, at a time when taxes were pressing with dire severity on the body of the nation, was one of the main causes of the Revolution. In Canada, where the amount of direct taxes levied for support of the State was insignificant, discontent on that score was unknown; but the Church collected tithes even if the Jesuits did not share in these tithes, and it must have seemed to the *habitants* unjust to pay any officers of the Church, whether belonging to regular or secular clergy, tithes and also seigniorial dues, even though the rent was in payment for land and tithes were imposed for the support of the Church.

The last college building, opened by the Jesuits for study less than twenty years before the conquest, covered, with its court, several acres. Four stories rose from Fabrique Street, and two fronted on the large gardens and playgrounds, which extended to Ann Street. In the early days there stretched across St. Stanislas Street, and extended to the Esplanade Hill, a grove of forest trees which the old maps called "The Jesuits' Woods." The church jutted from the north-west angle of the front of the college and faced the market-place and the cathedral. It had formed part of the older college.

The college and the church, as originally built, must have possessed even fewer pretensions to architectural beauty than the ungainly structure only recently torn down. Lahontan, in 1684, was charmed with the college and its beautifully kept gardens and ice houses; but Charlevoix, himself a Jesuit, describes the college in 1720 in most derogatory terms in one of his letters

to Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguières. He tells her that "she has doubtless read in the *Relations* of the beauty of the buildings. This was comparatively true when the town was a confused group of Frenchmen's huts and Indian hovels. Then the college and fort, being the only stone structures, cut some figure (*faisait quelque figure*), and by contrast struck the early traveller as being fine buildings; and succeeding travellers, as is their wont, simply repeated the glowing descriptions. But now that the Indian cabins have disappeared, and the French huts have been transformed into respectable stone houses, the college, which is falling into ruins, and whose courtyard is as filthy as a stable yard, actually disfigures the town. Moreover, when it was built, the river and harbor could be seen from its upper windows; but when the cathedral and seminary shut out the glorious view, the market-place supplied a poor substitute in the way of scenery." The account of the church, with its wooden floor, through whose open boards the wind whistled with icy blast in winter, is equally unpleasing. In a note, however, the author tells us that, in the interval between the date of his visit in 1720 and the publication of his book in 1744, the college had been partially rebuilt, and had been made really beautiful—*fort beau*—of which complimentary statement the present generation, which has seen its walls razed, can judge for itself.

Despite the educational advantages which the college offered, it so declined that at the date of the conquest there were only nine members of the Order, including two missionaries, in Canada. The college and church suffered seriously from the bombardment, but the Fathers returned to their restored quarters, reopened their classes in 1761, and carried on their work, when their brethren in Louisiana were banished in conformity

with the decree of 1762, abolishing the Order in France and the colonies. The British general refused to allow the members of the Jesuits in Canada to be replaced by novices; but the closing of the classical course in 1768 would seem to have been due, not so much to the reduced number of the teaching staff, as to decline in the number of students of the higher grades. This diminution may be accounted for by the emigration of so many of the wealthy class after the conquest; but it was more probably due to the growing popularity of the seminary, and the increasing suspicion of the covert influences of the educational system of the Jesuits, a suspicion which expressed itself in the almost universal suppression of the Order before the century ended. But though the college classes were closed, the Jesuits taught a primary school within the college walls till 1776.

The college was turned into a barracks after the conquest and continued to be used as such till the English regular troops were withdrawn from Canada. Since then it has been torn down and on its site the municipal buildings have been erected. The Jesuits have returned to Quebec, but not to engage actively in teaching, for the Roman Catholic education field is occupied by the state-supported separate schools and by the little and the greater seminary, which at the time of their establishment were adjuncts to the Jesuit College, but have long survived it, and are more flourishing than at any previous period of their history.

The seminary was originally created and constituted by Bishop Laval in 1663 for the training of the Canadian clergy. It is now known as the *Grand Séminaire*; and its functions are still what they were at first—the giving of a theological education—and its professors confine their teaching to theological subjects.

The first impulse towards the establishment of the Little Seminary (*Le Petit Séminaire*) came from France, when Colbert communicated to the bishop the King's earnest desire that the Christian Indians should be Frenchified, and his opinion that this could best be done by teaching the Indian boys the French language and French manners. The most Christian king was liberal in his theories and his advice, but stingy when asked to pay for carrying them into practice. The Jesuits had essayed in vain to civilise and denationalise the Indians more than thirty years before, and they wisely determined not to attempt the experiment again.

Whether Bishop Laval believed or not in the possibility of success, it matters not. The King had commanded, and like a loyal old noble he obeyed, and opened the *Petit Séminaire* on October 9, 1668, with eight French and six Huron pupils. The number of the former grew, that of the latter declined, till, in 1673, the last one was removed by its parents.

The Church draws a distinction between education and instruction. As an educator it exercises, in its educational establishments, constant supervision over its youth, and it studies the idiosyncrasies of each of its younger pupils. In the seminaries, and even in the universities under its control, a much stricter watch is kept over the pupils, and much less latitude of action and of studies is allowed to them, than in Protestant schools and colleges. In class and on the playground, the students are always under the watchful eye of a priest, who sits beside all professors, except those of the professional faculties, during their lectures.

It was quite consistent, therefore, with this distinction that the theological students of the *Grand Séminaire* and the advanced pupils of the *Petit Séminaire* should,



The Basilica. Entrance to the Seminary and Part of the Old Seminary Buildings.

till the conquest, when the Jesuit College was thoroughly equipped with a teaching staff, be entrusted to the Jesuits for their instruction in secular learning.

But the seminary was entrusted by Bishop Laval with other duties, and endowed with other prerogatives, than those of a teaching body. In order to reduce the clergy to more absolute dependence, and to regulate their remuneration more equitably, the institution from which they received their education was made the administrator of the tithes which the King permitted to be imposed for their support. The bishop hoped thus to bind them to their *alma mater* by ties of self-interest as well as of affection. Such as it was and is, the Seminary, including the Great and Little, has endeared itself to every priestly student educated within its walls, in a manner to which no parallel can be found in any Protestant institution in America of either secular or theological learning. Its power to remove the *curé*, and its administration of the tithes, became, it is true, the object of bitter controversy in the days of Bishop Saint Vallier, but when these grievances were removed by relieving it of those special functions, it retained in all essential particulars the form given to it by its founder. The spirit he inspired into it has survived, and it has preserved certain university features which make it almost a unique model, well worthy of study by those who regard the associations of college life, and their survival in after years, as among the most desirable results of college education.

Bishop Laval had received an indelible impression from M. de Bernières during his residence in the Hermitage of Caen, and he aimed at perpetuating in his seminary some of the features of that peaceful retreat. His intentions as founder of the latter institution were expressed in the following regulations:

First.—All priests must submit to the control of the seminary, under the direction of the bishop.

Second.—They must not regard themselves as owners of the allowances assigned them for their subsistence, and as a recognition of their dependence they must render an account year by year of their expenses. (These two rules were abrogated by Bishop Saint Vallier, when the *curés* became fixed parish priests, under the rule of the bishop.)

Third.—They must lead so blameless a life that none need ever be removed for misconduct.

Fourth.—To sustain their spiritual power they must once a year go into retreat at the seminary. During this absence from their charge the seminary will find a substitute to fill their places.

Fifth.—The seminary will continue to regard them as children of the home, where they will be received and treated with kindness, whenever they come to Quebec ill or on business.

Sixth.—The seminary will provide for their wants in sickness and health, and make no distinction in the hospitality it offers, be the rank of the ecclesiastic who seeks it what it may.

Seventh.—To encourage and console its priests, when absent, a regular correspondence, couched in kindly terms, will be maintained with each of them.

Eighth.—And when from age, hardship, or infirmity they are unfit for further work, they will find in the seminary a home till death releases them, and afterwards their old friends, who are left behind, will pray for the repose of their souls.

The seminary of Quebec has remained the cornerstone of the Roman Catholic Church of Canada. The priest still returns to it as to his home, and the provision to keep up systematic correspondence with the

bishop is maintained. In the bishop's palace there is a large library of bound volumes of manuscript, consisting in great part of such letters, and containing invaluable records, bearing primarily on ecclesiastical affairs, but incidentally on the social and political history of New France during the past two centuries and a half.

Bishop Laval himself acted up to his own rules. A noble of France, he stripped himself of all he possessed, gave to the seminary his personal property, the seigniories which had been granted him, and the proceeds of the abbey of Maubec, which had been conferred upon him by the King, and to the day of his death lived an austere but human life—either in the seminary or at its industrial farm of St. Joachim, where the first technical school on the continent was conducted under his instigation.

Twice the seminary buildings were burned during Bishop Laval's lifetime, and both times rebuilt more substantially and on a larger scale with but little assistance from France. The seminary possessed substantial resources from the first, but owed most of its available cash to the bishop's liberality. The revenues of the abbey of Maubec were turned over to the seminary for the support of the cathedral chapter, and for a century yielded a small revenue. The King made Laval also the Abbot of d'Estrie, but neither he nor the seminary derived any benefit from it, as the union of the abbey of d'Estrie to the bishopric of Quebec was not sanctioned by the Holy See till the time of Bishop Saint Vallier. But Laval secured also for the seminary the Isle Jésus; the beach and shores of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles at Quebec from the Sault au Matelot to the Hôtel Dieu; also the seigniory of Beaupré and the seigniory of La Petite Nation above Montreal. His personal property was given on condition that:

First, the seminary support for three months of each year two missionaries among the Indians. (Of this condition the institution was relieved by the donor in 1699.) Second, that the priests of the seminary say a low mass daily for the repose of his soul, and those of the departed members of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. Third, that the seminary support and educate for the priesthood eight pupils to be chosen by the directors.*

The revenues derived from these seignories and the French abbey would not, however, have sufficed to maintain the teaching staff, still less to erect the buildings, had not the seminary controlled the tithes, and been the patrons and the bankers of the clergy of the diocese, whether engaged in education or in parochial work. As the population increased, the revenue from fees and board, moderate as the charges were, became a substantial source of income.[†]

The need of the Catholic university was recognised

* There is in the archives of the seminary the record of the gift by the bishop of a substantial plot of ninety acres to a widow on the sole condition that she educate her children in designated schools as soon as they attain the age of ten or eleven years. Gosselin, p. 76.

[†] Till 1730, scholars were boarded, clothed, and taught by the seminary free of charge, but after 1730 the relatives were required to furnish clothes and books. At present the scale of charges is: In the *Petit Séminaire*, for board, lodging, tuition, \$111. *Demi-pensionnaires*, who dine in the seminary, pay \$6 a month. In the *Grand Séminaire* the annual fee for board, lodging, and tuition is \$120.

Moreover, in the early days the parish of Quebec, as well as the cathedral chapter, was supplied by, and at the cost of, the seminary, in accordance with the bishop's original plan. The arrangement survived, not without some misgivings by Bishop Laval's successors, till 1768. In that year the seminary resigned its duty, a *curé*, to the bishop on account of the growing burden of the charge, both on its staff and on its resources.

Bishop Hamel, in his sketch of Laval University in *Canada—an Encyclopedia* says: "The greatest income of the Seminary is a negative one, and consists in the fact that the thirty priests who are employed as professors in the University and in the College give all

by the fathers of the First Provincial Council, held in 1851. Among the various seminaries which might claim the right of originating and conducting it, the choice could lie only between the seminary of Quebec and that of St. Sulpice in Montreal, which opened its doors under the Abbé Queylus, manned by the able priests from the parent seminary in Paris, some five or six years before Bishop Laval issued his ordinance for the establishment of the Quebec seminary. The seminary of Quebec was chosen; and out of its own funds has expended \$300,000 in the erection and equipment of a university. It is appropriately called after Quebec's first great bishop, and is equipped with a teaching staff of professors in all the recognised faculties.

Quebec and Montreal were well provided with elementary and advanced schools for boys and girls, but there were few public schools in the country parishes in the seventeenth century. In the next century Intendant Raudot, who was forcibly scandalised by the free and independent manner of the *habitants*, both old and young, as compared with the cringing demeanour of the French peasant, wrote to the Minister: "The *habitants* of the country are uneducated, owing to the weakness and mistaken tenderness which fathers and mothers exhibit to their children. In this respect they imitate the Indians. As there are no schoolmasters, the children are always at home, and as they grow up, having never been inured to discipline, they develop an unruly and even ferocious disposition, which they

their time and their energy without remuneration. They are not paid. They have their board with heat and light, and are allowed \$10.00 per month for their clothing, mending and washing, and this is all. The Superior of the Seminary, who is *de jure* the principal of the University, receives no other salary."

vent even on their parents, to whom they show little respect, and on their superiors and the clergy."

There was no printing press in Canada till after the conquest. It is not easy to account for this as the religious orders generally favoured instead of repelling the introduction of printing, if the press were rigidly under ecclesiastical supervision. In Mexico a printing press was erected prior to 1540: but the title of the first book printed, *Spiritual Ladder to Ascend to Heaven*, bespeaks the influence which controlled it. The titles are given of ninety-three books, religious, educational, and historical, published in Mexico prior to 1600. Seven books were printed, even in Peru, prior to the seventeenth century; and a printing press was set up in French San Domingo as early as 1650. The Jesuits at one time contemplated introducing a press into Canada, but must have thought better of it. No greater contrast can be conceived than that between the great bulk of controversial literature emanating from and circulated in New England and the actual dearth of any of the same class of reading matter in Canada.

CHAPTER XV

HERETICS, QUAKERS, AND WITCHES IN NEW ENGLAND, AND DEMONS IN NEW FRANCE

THERE are three episodes in Massachusetts Bay history which should be studied in conjunction because they all illustrate the consistency in perversity with which the Puritan statesmen lived up to their conception of the true method of governing a theocratic state. They founded a community in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, but the code which they adopted, in its spirit, if not in all its details, was one designed to regulate the lives of a primitive tribe just emerging from the pastoral into the national phase of development, about fifteen centuries before Christ. The incongruity of trying to apply to such different ages and conditions the same code originated in a divine authority attributed to the Law of Moses. These Mosaical statutes had sanitary and ritualistic as well as what we would consider ethical provisions well suited to the times and people. Disobedience was punished by severest pains and penalties, the death sentence itself, as among rude and warlike people, being ruthlessly carried out.

In the code of Moses the enactments were specific. They were not vague precedents transmitted as oral traditions, at least as they have come down to us. And therefore when the Puritans, following the Pentateuch,

made laws, they specified the punishment which must be inflicted for their breach, and the execution of the penalty was as sacred an obligation as obedience to the law itself. Their laws, however rigid and cruel in our estimation, were mild in comparison with those in force in the land of their fathers when they left it. At that time thirty-one crimes were punishable by death in England. The first Massachusetts and Connecticut codes threatened death for only twelve offences. The inconsistency of the Puritans of New England was that they, fleeing from persecution for religious dissent, became themselves persecutors of those who differed from them, as soon as they possessed the power of enforcing their own opinions. In false views of Biblical interpretation originated the cruel enactments of the canon laws, the horrors of the Inquisition, the tyranny of the Star-Chamber, and the faults of the Puritans. The acceptance as binding of all the injunctions of the Old Testament distorted the creeds and actions of other and much larger sections of the Christian Church.

The three episodes to which I have referred are: The Hutchinson Antinomian Controversy, The Quaker Persecution, and The Witchcraft Mania. The Colony had in 1635 banished Roger Williams, partly for his independent habit of criticising the magistrates and the elders, partly for variations from doctrine which the Puritan Church had adopted. Some of these variations turned upon the principle, which Roger Williams firmly held, that a man is responsible to God alone. Mrs. Hutchinson preached and carried to its logical conclusion this belief, and was banished for maintaining it. And in defence of it the Quakers were willing to die. If accepted, it undermined the whole fabric of Puritanism, which rested on rigid adherence to verbal formula and to written law, though it was in

perfect harmony with the fundamental argument on which Protestantism rested, that no human agent may arrogate the function of deciding for any man what he shall believe and what reject. The Rev. John Cotton had preached this doctrine and converted Mrs. Hutchinson to it before they emigrated to America. When he saw the discord it inevitably created if carried into practice, he recanted or explained.

However, in the Antinomian controversy the practical point at issue was toleration or no toleration of what the majority rejected as heresy; and it was settled peremptorily, in the same practical manner as the Roger Williams controversy, by banishment.

Mrs. Ann Hutchinson was the first of those able New England theological women of whom we have a conspicuous example to-day, who have brought imagination and strong personal influence to support their eccentric views. She carried the doctrine of purification by faith farther than was considered orthodox; and the indwelling of the Holy Ghost was in her system not a figure of speech but the incorporation of an actual presence. So excitable was the public mind over these abstruse metaphysical distinctions, that her Antinomianism, involving justification without necessary sanctification, came nigh disrupting the civil as well as the ecclesiastical harmony of the Colony. The brilliant but ill-balanced young Governor, Sir Henry Vane, and most of the Boston clergy, sided with her. The county elders and most of the magistrates vehemently opposed the innovation. At a meeting of the General Court at New Town in May, 1637, a crisis was reached. "So soon as the Court was set a petition was preferred by those of Boston." Fortunately, as the order of business required that the officers for the coming year be first elected, Winthrop succeeded Vane and better

counsels ultimately prevailed. But calm did not follow turmoil till Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband and the Rev. John Wheelwright, a brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson were banished.

Banishment and sober second thought subsequently converted the Rev. Wheelwright to the view of the majority, and he was restored to good standing in the Massachusetts church. The dying embers of the controversy were again blown up into flame by the publication of *A Short Story*, already referred to; but to us its meaning is interesting chiefly as illustrating the intentions and method of the group of men who ruled the little state with such remarkable political sagacity and arbitrary power.

Few to-day would care to study the intricacies of the Hutchinson controversy, which sounds like jargon to the lay ear, but it had a tremendous influence in its day by unifying the Church party and rendering it strong enough to hold policial power till the close of the century.¹

Indirectly it had its influence on the Quaker episode. The doctrines propounded by both groups rested fundamentally on the same proposition, and therefore the Quaker persecution was a necessary result of the Hutchinson controversy and of the summary method of settling it. There was, however, this difference: The Hutchinson heresy could only by a strained construction be interpreted as a crime against the State. The Quakers, on the other hand, were driven by their principles to refuse obedience to certain State ordinances and to public practices, which were as sacred as laws.

It would be strange if, in the universal perturbation of spirit that prevailed during the Puritan uprising,

¹ Poor Mrs. Hutchinson fled first to Rhode Island, then to Manhattan, where in 1642 she was killed in an Indian raid.

that peculiar phase of religious ecstasy which depends on the supposed direct intercourse between God and the worshipper, should not have had its adherents. But reliance on the inner illumination, as a surer guide than the interpretation of transmitted revelation, did not originate with the Quakers. It had reappeared again and again in the Christian Church as one of the phases of faith. Cotton Mather¹ speaks of "fancies and whimsies," which possessed the people of Salem years before. George Fox first proclaimed his message in 1647. It was John Cotton's preaching that converted Mrs. Hutchinson to advocate the "Covenant of Grace" as against the "Covenant of Works,"—and this was substantially the fundamental feature of Quakerism. She offended the elders by gathering crowds around her and propagating her own opinion in opposition to their dogma. That was a grievous crime. But the Quakers went a step farther and set up their notions as above the law, and thus made themselves guilty of misdemeanors and of capital offences under a statute framed to meet their special case.

The prosecution of the Quakers commenced immediately on the arrival of the first missionaries of the sect in the summer of 1656. To-day the Society of Friends is a retiring and non-proselytising sect, enjoying in silence the realisation of their fundamental principles, that spiritual enlightenment and inspiration come directly to the individual through the affiliation of the human soul with the divine spirit. But in the days of their primitive enthusiasm, volunteers, as missionaries, delivered their message in Catholic Europe and even in Mohammedan Turkey. They were not molested, probably because the message was so unintelligible to the hearers as to be harmless in the eyes of the authori-

¹ *Magnalia*, vol. ii., p. 523.

ties. They were probably regarded as harmless lunatics, and judging by their authenticated ravings and the hysterical movements, which won them the appellation of Quakers, the sanity of many of the early converts may well be doubted. In those days the interference of the devil was a convenient explanation of every mysterious phenomenon; but even Cotton Mather was bewildered by what we would call the mesmeric influence, which some of them seemed to possess, as the following quotation would indicate.*

"And indeed, as the *quaking* which distinguished these poor creatures, was a symptom of *diabolical possession*; so, ere I dismiss this matter, I must observe to my reader, that there could be nothing less than a diabolical possession, in many other things that attended and advanced Quakerism at its first appearance in the world, and that are in some sorts of Quakers unto this day to be exemplified. It was no rare thing for the old set of Quakers to proselyte people merely by *stroaking* or *breathing* on them; they had no sooner used some such action toward such as they had a design upon, but the *bewitched* people would behave themselves just as if a *philtre* had been given them, and would follow their converters in every thing, without being able to render any reason for it."

Therefore when, in the summer of 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin landed in Boston from Barbados to preach Quakerism, and they were followed rapidly by Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Christopher Holder, and six other male and female adherents of the same sect, the ecclesiastical authorities at once recognised the appearance of a new and dangerous heresy. To attribute their eccentricities to insanity would have been deemed as dangerous as was the doctrine itself

* Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. ii., p. 528.

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of these sectarians, for the civil authorities were persuaded that the harmless enthusiasts were Anabaptists in disguise, and therefore subverters of the authorised order in State and Church. They also fell under suspicion of being sorcerers, and Mary Fisher and Ann Austin were stripped and carefully inspected for witch marks. The common law against disturbers of the peace was put into effect against them and they were banished under threats of severer penalties if they returned. Nevertheless, return they did, the more eagerly because threatened with stripes and death itself.

On their return in greater numbers than the few original missionaries, the old laws were strained to meet the emergency, and new laws were passed to arrest the spread of this dangerous heresy, as it was regarded. It was a period when immigration was so slack that the number of Quakers who invaded the Colony, compared with the totality of newcomers, must have made them unduly conspicuous. To check the flow and prevent them preaching their pernicious doctrines, such inhuman laws as the following were passed:

“That all and every of those People that should arise among yourselves should be dealt withal, and suffer the like Punishments, as your Laws provided for those that came in, That for the first Offence of any such who had suffered what your Law required, if a Male, one of his Ears should be cut off, and be kept at Work in the House of Correction, till he could be sent away on his own Charge; For the Second, The other Ear, and be kept in the House of Correction, as aforesaid. If a Woman, then to be severely Whipp'd and kept as aforesaid, as the Male, for the first; and for the second Offence to be dealt withal as the first; And for the Third, He or

she should have their Tongues bor'd through with an hot Iron, and be kept at the House of Correction close at Work, till they be sent away on their own Charge."

Under such penal statutes sixty-four innocent culprits in Massachusetts were whipped; of these, thirty women were stripped to the waist and whipped at the cart tail, from town to town, till beyond the bounds of the commonwealth. Four were hanged, and others would probably have suffered the death penalty had Charles II not interfered after the execution of William Leddra, and required that in such extreme cases the criminal be sent to England for trial. Three had one or both ears cut off, and several on inability or refusal to pay fines, were sold into slavery.

Three years after the landing of the first contingent a declaration was issued on October 18, 1659, in justification of the barbarous persecution to which they had meanwhile been exposed. It was published nominally for the satisfaction of the people, a great number of whom were much dissatisfied at what had already been done: really to justify the harsh action of the authorities, lay and clerical.¹

¹ The proclamation read as follows: "About three years since, diverse persons professing themselves Quakers (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands), both from Barbados and England, arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behavior to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion. A law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction, till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a *back-door* they found entrance; and the penalty inflicted on them proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased—which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous and fanatick fury, necessitated us to endeavor our security, and upon serious consideration, a law was made that such persons should be *banished on pain of death*, according to the

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Some of the ordinances passed to stem this tide of what was considered as lawlessness are significant of the inhumanity of the age, rather than of the bigotry of the Puritans. Even to-day a limit has to be set to the vagaries of religious enthusiasts when they infringe on what we arbitrarily assume to be the rights of others. The migrations of the Dukhobors in Manitoba had to be interfered with by the police; and after the secession of the Free Church in Scotland in 1842 it was not long before the seceders, as a corporate body under the law, had to recognise its supremacy, and to exhibit their books in court.

Physical suffering is no longer inflicted for such breaches of decorum as the Quakers were guilty of, but they would to-day be punished for contempt of court, if they used such language to any judge as that with which the Massachusetts Friends answered their accusers and the judge.

New Haven did not disguise the religious motive of the punishment under the plea of a civil offence, for besides whipping a Quaker, Humphrey Morton,¹ the theocratic commonwealth branded him with the letter H to insure his being known as a heretic.

example of England, in their provision against Jesuites; which sentence being regularly pronounced, at the last Court of Assistants against these parties, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the Court to *death*—which hath been executed upon two of them. M. D., upon the intercession of a son, had liberty to depart, and accepted of it. The consideration of our *gradual proceedings*, will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of *severity*. Our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the *point*, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se* (guilty of suicide)—as well as the sparing of *one*, upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince we desire their *lives absent*, rather than their *deaths present*."

¹ *New England Judged*, Edition of 1702, p. 203.

Even the stolid Dutch of New Netherland were moved, it is claimed, by New England influence, to look with suspicion and inflict punishment on the members of this strange sect, which arrogated to themselves divine inspiration, and to that extent freedom from human laws. In the case of Robert Hodgshone,¹ who had entered New Netherland, a new form of punishment was inflicted. The sentence was, "It is the General's Pleasure, that you Work two Years at the Wheelbarrow, with a Negro, or pay, or cause to be paid, Six Hundred Guilders." Unable to work, he was whipped day by day by the negro.

The government of Plymouth took a wiser and more profitable way of trying to repress the contagion. Its punishments consisted largely of fines, for Bishop records no less than £654 sterling, in value of goods and money, collected within a limited period from Quakers or those who harboured them. And he records only six whippings as inflicted in Plymouth Colony.

It would serve no good purpose to describe all the harrowing details of what the Quakers suffered. We know that their persecutors were men of as lofty ideals and as religious as the Quakers themselves, according to a standard of their own. One therefore asks what justification the Quakers gave the authorities for such severe measures, and from what point of view the colonial civil and ecclesiastical officials regarded Quaker doctrine and conduct.

The Quaker controversy at that time waxed hot in England as well as in America, and libraries of books were written on both sides of the question; but the gist of the controversy lay in the position taken by the Quakers, that the spirit of God, speaking directly to the spirit of man, is the true and only light which lighteneth

¹ *New England Judged*, Edition of 1702, p. 213.

every man that cometh into the world; and that therefore in certain matters any man, believing himself to be the subject of divine inspiration and guidance, was a law unto himself. As a consequence, Quakerism repudiated ceremonial observances, ecclesiastical ordinances, and sacraments; but like all extremists (and none were more inconsistent than the Puritans themselves), they became sticklers for ordinances of their own devising, substituting trivial peculiarities of worship for the rejected church tenets, insisting vehemently on a certain costume while discarding all ecclesiastical robes, and reprobating the use of any ritual while insisting on certain forms of speech, as binding articles of religion. Of course they educed strong arguments in favour of those tenets, and quoted the Scriptures in corroboration. But their adversaries were better logicians, more expert in twisting texts to confirm their opinions, and they had the supreme advantage over reason in the power to enforce them. Nevertheless, many were agreed that if it pleased these enthusiasts to make themselves conspicuous by wearing a hat of a certain cut, and refusing to raise it as an act of courtesy, or to disfigure their women in drab dresses, and adorn their heads with poke bonnets, that was their own pleasure and they hurt nobody by indulging their fancy; or if they wished to be grammatically correct and address the individual in the singular number, no one need take offence. At his trial William Leddra pleaded: "You will put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my clothes." Mayor Dennision replied: "A man may speak treason in English." To which Leddra answered: "Is it treason to say *thee* and *thou* to a single person?" On the other hand, the popular conception of toleration was that if the law said *you*, you must not say *thou*.

The view which the Simple Cobbler of Aggawam took was probably that generally held, that "He that is willing to tolerate any unsound opinion, that his own may also be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle."

"The State that will give liberty of conscience in matters of Religion must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their moral laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of Tune and some of the strings crack."¹ There is more reason in these aphorisms than in the argument of Hubbard, who, after using the stock theological arguments in favour of persecution, adds: "The inhabitants of the place having purchased the country for themselves, they accounted it an unreasonable injury for any one to come presumptuously, without license or allowance, to live among them and to sow the seeds of their dangerous and perverse principles among the inhabitants." These reasons for persecution were political as well as theological, or theological as well as political, which inevitably occurs when clergymen fill the double rôle of priests and statesmen. But they also may have been popular. For even the most tolerant latitudinarians looked with suspicion on the Quakers when they refused to take an oath in court, or instead of attending public worship, held private meetings at which the spirit inevitably moved them to criticise the legality and righteousness of the acts of the authorities. Few justified this course of conduct, though many disapproved of the extreme measure of punishment meted out to them. The government of New England was a mild theocracy, in which the preacher not only used the pulpit to discuss politics, but appeared in court as the accuser and prosecutor of any who infringed the law by neglecting

¹ *Force Tracts*, vol. iii.

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church attendance, and of all who were suspected of the faintest tinge of heresy against the tenets of Calvinism. The elder was in many cases a judge in the Court of Last Appeal. The Quakers were avowedly law-breakers, and were prosecuted for obstinately adhering to "their absurd and destructive practices in denying civil respect and equality, and reverence to superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, instead thereof frequenting private meetings of their own." In our age and land these are not very grievous offences, but there are countries where even to-day such infractions of ecclesiastical rule are deemed destructive of the whole fabric of government as commanded by God and as accepted by the Church.

The Puritans had revolted against ritualistic forms in favour of liberty of conscience and simplicity of worship, but being confirmed legalists and logicians, they had adopted a new form of worship, created a republican form of church government, and worked out a scheme of doctrine highly complimentary to the elect but conclusively fatal to enemies such as the Quakers. These schismatics, besides believing themselves under divine inspiration, did not confine themselves to preaching righteousness and repentance, but considered themselves as belonging to the school of the prophets, and like those scathing messengers of old, indulged in foretelling divine vengeance as certain to overtake those who persecuted them. To pour out threatenings and launch prophetic thunder against sinners in general seldom exposes the prophet to much risk, but to revile the saints personally and predict the vengeance of heaven as certain to descend on them is perilous, more especially when the saints, whether of the Church of Rome, England, or Calvin, can wield the temporal sword as well as the Sword of the Spirit.

And the prophecies of the Quakers were certainly irritating, and not the less so that the fulfilment occasionally seemed to follow the uttered doom.¹

But the frenzy of the Quaker missionaries did not exhaust itself in words. Two of their women adopted the most extraordinary method of testifying their horror at the immodest *décolleté* dress in which the condemned women were whipped. Deborah Wilson walked naked through the streets of Salem as a witness against the people for stripping women to the waist before whipping them, and Lydia Wardel appeared unclad in meeting.

The Quaker controversy on both sides was conducted

¹ Bishop in *New England Judged*, Edition of 1702, page 481, says: "On that Day the Rulers and Priests of Boston had agreed to mingle their Sacrifice with the Blood and Lives of the Innocent, the Persecutors returning, and rejoicing in the Murthering and Hanging of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, as sundry of them were passing over a great Drawbridge, it suddenly brake down in pieces with them, and divers of them were wounded and bruised with the weighty fall thereof; and one or two of them, who seemed to joy in the Death of the Innocent, it is said That the Bones of the Armes, with Thighs and other parts of their Bodies, were broken to pieces, and after a few Days Torment of Body, and Rotting alive, died, and in this also was the Word of the Lord fulfilled, spoken to the Bench, by the Mouth of that faithful Martyr, who said, 'Take heed, ye Rulers, what ye do, and be warned before it be too late; and know, that in that Day you put us to Death, shall the Judgments of God come upon this place.'

"Old John Endicot, Governour, that Nero-like unjust Judge of the Innocent (whose Death is mentioned, p. 444), who in his made Nebuchadnezzar-like Spirit, threatened and endeavoured to weary out and to destroy the Servants of the Most High, and to root out their very Name from amongst them. He with his Hangman, that Murtherer, who together had imbruied their Hands in the Blood of the Innocent Lambs of the Living God, were both by the Hand of the Lord hewed down, and at one time laid on their Death-beds, so that some did say, 'Who would have thought the Head and Tail should go so near together?' So the Lord cut down Endicot, Root and Branch, and his Hangman it is said died in great Horror of Mind, and Torment of Body. And this is according to the Word of the Lord, fore-spoken by the Mouth of his Servants, concerning them."

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in abusive language. Bishop's famous arraignment of the Massachusetts officials, lay and clerical, as he recounts the sufferings in detail of each of the persecuted Quakers in his *New England Judged*, is a perfect vocabulary of vituperation borrowed, where the expressions of hate and revenge are strong enough, from the Old Testament.

But violent as are the ravings of Bishop and other half-crazed Quaker maniacs, they do not equal in virulence such foul language as the following from Cotton Mather¹: "Now, I know not whether the sect which hath appeared in our days under the name of Quakers, be not upon many accounts the worst of hereticks; for in Quakerism, which has by some been called, the 'sink of all heresies,' we see the *vomit* cast out in the by-past ages, by whose *kennels* of seducers, lick'd up again for a *new digestion*, and once more exposed for the *poisoning* of mankind; though it pretends unto *light*, yet by the means of that very pretence it leaves the bewildered souls of men 'in chains unto darkness,' and gives them up to the conduct of an *Ignis Fatuus*: but this I know, they have been the most venomous of all to the churches of America."

In delightful contrast to such vituperation is Edward Burrough's *A Declaration to all the World of our Faith, and what we Believe.*² For example:

"Concerning Religion: We believe that it is only the Spirit of the Lord that makes men truly religious, and that no man ought to be compelled to, or from any exercise or practise in Religion, by any outward Law, or Power, but every man ought to be left free, as the Lord shall persuade his own mind in doing, or leaving undone this, or the other practise in Religion; and every man of what professions in Religion soever, ought to be

¹ *Magnalia*, ii., p. 522.

• Page 6.

protected in peace, provided himself be a man of peace, not seeking the wrong of any man's person or Estate.

"And we believe that to reprove false Opinions, and unsound Doctrines and principles, seeking to convince them that oppose themselves, by exhortation, of sharp reproof, by Word or Writing, ought not to be counted a breach of Peace; or to strive about the things of the Kingdom of God, by men of contrary minds or judgements, this ought not to be punishable by the Magistrates and their Laws, for we believe that the outward *Law* and *Powers* of the earth is onely to preserve mens persons & estates, and not to preserve men in Opinions, neither ought the Law of the Nation to be laid upon mens consciences, to bind them to, or from such a judgement or practise in Religion. And we believe that Christ is, and ought onely to be Lord and Exerciser of mens consciences, and his Spirit onely must lead into all truth."

Barbarous as was the Quaker persecution, it was humane as compared with the campaign against witches which extended over the whole of the latter half of the century and culminated in the Salem tragedy. But the charges on which the witches were burned or hanged were totally different to those on which the courts proceeded in their action against the Quakers. The Quakers were disturbers of the civil government and as such the civil authorities, with full approval of the ministers of the Church, punished them. The Bible was not quoted in approval, but the Old Testament was the penal code whose provisions made it imperative, so they thought, to destroy the possessed of the devil. In that age the powers of darkness were not conceived of as allegorical beings, but as personalities living in fierce combat with the powers of light; and when they became incarnate in any unfortunate man or woman, the devil invisible

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became at once the devil tangible, and they could attack him with his own weapon—death. Cotton Mather's description in his *Wonders of the Invisible World* conveys but a faint idea of the terror in which credulous people lived of malign spiritual influence.

By them every pictorial, allegorical, and metaphysical reference in the Scriptures to Satan, to his supernatural agents, and his human allies, as actual embodiments of the principle of evil, was taken literally. Thus a system of demonology, as binding on certain consciences as any other body of doctrine, was built up. And as the subject lent itself to the wildest vagaries of the imagination, a structure, as fantastic as the rabbinical hierarchy of the angels or as monumental in size as the hierarchy of the Church of Rome, was erected.

The humane instincts of the people soon revolted against such interpretations of natural phenomena, difficult as they might be of explanation; but the theological bias of such men as Increase and Cotton Mather was so irresistible that when the community at large was filled with shame and sorrow for its inhuman folly, they persisted in flattering themselves that by encouraging the slaughter of nineteen unfortunates they had vanquished Satan and driven him from his former stronghold—New England. Torquemada, Chief Justice Hale, and Cotton Mather were all victims of the same infatuation and possessed by the same devil of delusion as some of the unfortunate victims whom they condemned to a horrible death.

New England till the arrival of the Pilgrims was in their estimation under the undisputed sway of the devil and of his representatives, the Indian medicine men and sorcerers. The arch-fiend, however, could not be expected to abandon the field without a struggle, and therefore the servants of God were from the first

on the alert to frustrate his machinations. These they detected in every extraordinary phenomenon of nature, in earthquakes, in violent thunderstorms; but especially in remarkable deviations from the normal in human character or attainments, and in what we, or even sensible people in that age, recognised as aberration of intellect. On the statute books of all the colonies appear laws for the punishment of witches, without any precise definition of what witchcraft means or how to detect it.

But the laws had not long been made before cases for their execution occurred. The first recorded trial for witchcraft is that against Margaret Jones, who was executed in Boston on June 15, 1648. She was a woman versed in simples, and whose very experience in medicine, and probably correct diagnosis in detecting disease, and skill in prescribing for its cure, exposed her to suspicion. One of the most damaging accusations was that she told her patients that unless they followed her advice they "would never be healed and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued," and "her medicines had extremely violent effects." Poor soul! Like some unlicensed practitioners and a few with licenses, she probably had learnt some of the secrets of disease which were hidden from the wise and prudent of the profession, and no wonder, therefore, that her behaviour at her trial was intemperate and that she "railed upon the jury and witnesses," and that "in like distemper she died." Almost as a general rule the witches had bad tempers and were distasteful to their neighbours, and though it would be unfair to charge the devout brethren, who swore away the lives of their neighbours, with intentional malice and personal grudge, one cannot read the records without suspecting that a strong bias, growing out of long-continued irritation, from abusive

language and spiteful actions, created prejudice against the accused.

A month before her execution, "The Massachusetts Courte commended the course which hath been taken in England for the Discovery of Witches by watching them at certain times," for at that period witch-hunting had become a profitable trade in England and its practice almost a profession.¹

But prior to the famous Salem attack of hysteria, a very few isolated cases of witchcraft were tried in the colonies, some resulting in the imposition of the death penalty and others in fines.

William Penn brought his common sense to bear upon the subject when devils were introduced to disturb the quiet of Quakerism in Pennsylvania. Margaret Matson was on trial as a witch. On her admitting that she rode a broomstick, he discharged her on the ground that there was no law forbidding her or any one else who cared to perform such an acrobatic feat, from doing so.

When we approach the tragedy of Salem, through the preparatory incident of the Goodwin girls, we are brought face to face with the Rev. Cotton Mather, and are bewildered by the position taken by the Church in New England and still more in trying to solve the wider question of the influence of the Reformation on these perverse interpretations of obscure phenomena.

Though some sceptical Catholics like Montaigne, or Jesuits like Malebranche and Tanner, and many liberal-minded Protestants disapproved of the burning of witches, and writers like Weier in 1564 and Reginald Scot in 1584 exposed the flimsy and inconsequential evidence on which either the insane or innocent were convicted, several of the most appalling epidemics of the disease followed, if they were not the result of, the

¹ See quotation, Upham, *Salem Village*, vol. i., p. 352.

Reformation. Eggleston remarks:¹ "After the Reformation, melancholy and hysterical women could no longer relieve their morbid sense of culpability by a meritorious pilgrimage. Perhaps this sort of faith cure was the greatest benefit of the old religion lost by the Lutheran revolution. Puritanism sometimes drove such brainsick creatures to stark madness."

Account for it as we may, the executions for the crime of witchcraft in Protestant countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were appalling.

Cranmer in one of his "Articles of Visitation" advises his clergy to "enquire whether you know of any that has charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, sooth-saying, or any like craft invented by the Devil." When people were encouraged to hunt for eccentricities in their neighbours they were found in such abundance that Bishop Jewell, preaching before Queen Elizabeth in 1558, said: "It may please your Grace to understand that witches and sorcerers within these last few years are marvellously increased within your Grace's realm." But the Queen needed her subjects for other purposes than to use them as torches to illuminate Smithfield. Nor would she have agreed with the arguments which were so convincing to her pedantic successor King James, as set forth in *Dæmonology*. He had no difficulty in finding witches by the score to confirm his tests, for in 1612 fifteen witches were indicted in Lancashire alone, and twelve condemned. During the Commonwealth, witches were found in increasing numbers, especially when sought for by professional witch hunters. Mathew Hopkins, who charged each town he visited a fee of twenty shillings for discovering its witches, secured in one year over one hundred victims for the hangman.

In detecting witches and judging them, such rules of

¹ *Transit of Civilisation*, page 45.

evidence as those laid down by Perkins in his *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* were followed. He says: "If any man or woman be notoriously defamed for a witch, this yields a strong suspicion. Yet the judge ought carefully to look that the Report be made by men of honesty and credit."

According to Dogberry, "If you meet a thief you may suspect him by virtue of your office and be no true man"; but Dogberry was merciful and more just than Perkins, for he said, "and for such kind of man, the less you meddle or make with them, why the more is for your honesty."

When the native superstition of the Scotch character, especially that of the Highlanders, was whetted by the importance attached to the possession of demoniacal arts by the clergy before and after the Reformation, it is not to be wondered at that some poor creatures were proud of claiming the distinction of being witches. The Scotch record is a pitiable story of cruelty and bigotry in comparison with which the trials of Salem and of Andover were exhibitions of mercy.

The Scotch records are of interest to us mainly from the fact that the "Scotch Clergy" were "throughout the leading managers of the prosecution before whom the confessions were taken and the tortures inflicted. The ministers and kirk sessions were required to make strict inquisition and private accusations were invited even from the pulpit."¹ The Presbyterian minister was cousin-german to the elder of New England, who did not discourage his flock from gloating over witches and their diabolical devices.

There is evidence that witchcraft literature was circulated and that sorcery was not only a favourite topic of discussion but that its manifestations were even a

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, article on "Witchcraft."

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subject of play and imitation among the children in the Bay Colony. Under these circumstances, in the light of what we know of the laws of suggestion, we might expect that the phenomena in New England would closely resemble those witnessed in and reported from Old England and Scotland, whether we attribute both to hysteria, to malice, to conspiracy, or to heartless cruelty or childish pranks.

Four years before the Salem tragedy the Goodwin children in Boston were afflicted and Cotton Mather took one of the children for close study and observation into his house. The case attracted at the time much attention. The supernatural explanation given by the great doctor was accepted without challenge, and the details were published eleven years subsequently as one of the *Wonders of the Invisible World in Preternatural Occurrences*.

Dr. Mather's very concise account of what he and others saw, or thought they saw, and the strange obliquity of mental vision which prevented him from accepting any other explanation of the children's conduct than that which coincided with his and their preconceived prejudice, gives peculiar interest to the case of the Goodwin children.

But this was but a prelude to the famous Salem delusions, which, though they resulted in but a tithe of the victims who were sacrificed to the moloch of superstition in any similar outbreak elsewhere, have created more comment and called for more acrimonious criticism than other far more atrocious and fatal attacks in Europe. The character of the Puritan leaders for intelligence has led the world to expect that reason and reason alone would have guided them. In the ordinary affairs of life and statecraft they exercised common sense of a high order, but when the literal interpretation

of the Scriptures seemed to impose a divine law upon the elders, they were inflexible in its execution. The colonists at large may have been bewildered for a time, but a sense of justice and humanity soon got the better of all the people, except a few men who adhered steadfastly, in the face of strong public opposition, to their theological opinions.

Another explanation for the prominence given to the Salem trials is the detail with which the evidence has been preserved. The trials were, it is true, conducted in a most injudicial manner. Irrelevant evidence was accepted. Answers were suggested to the State's witnesses, and contempt was thrown on all statements made by the accused or by the witnesses for the defence. The afflicted children were brought to court and their paroxysms and antics were exhibited to an excited and prejudiced audience. Nevertheless, the court records are full and probably honestly reported, and they give a truer account of the facts and fancies on which witches were convicted than any other trials for the same offence.

To whatever exciting cause we may attribute the epidemic, the possessed children undoubtedly exhibited strong morbid symptoms, which, under the false theological and pathological notions of that age, were attributed to demoniacal influences. And therefore it would be unjust to impugn the sincerity of the elders or of the judges, who could not be expected to interpret the evidence as it would be presented to a court of justice to-day. Unfortunately, once an irrational prosecution of that kind is started, the spirit of malice and mischief is aroused in the community, and unpardonable crimes are committed from the lowest and basest motives. Fear and anger unhinge the reason of the well-intentioned, and good men become the tools

of every hypocrite who wishes to revenge himself on his neighbour. Even the children in many cases feigned morbid symptoms for fun, and acted their parts well. But others undoubtedly exhibited those curious phenomena of mental pathology which are now recognised as proper studies of the scientific alienist.

Probably there were displayed in the Salem Court-house such strange feats as those of table-turning and planchette, and instances of telepathy, which to-day we know are done in accordance with natural laws, even though we cannot explain or express them. Then these strange phenomena were attributable, beyond contradiction, to the help of the devil. But the Salem delusions ceased as soon as people of quality were accused. The same coincidence occurred when the first epidemic of witchcraft broke out forty years previously. At the height of the excitement Cotton Mather preached a sermon on demonology which aggravated the frenzy. To us it reads like the ravings of a lunatic. We have, however, little means of knowing what the real public opinion was. The multitude may have taken but slight interest in the cruel proceedings of the churchmen. Judging by the silence of the Boston *News-Letter*, the people at large took none. Yet it was at the time dangerous in certain localities to side with the devil in preference to the elders.¹ Justice Bradstreet of Andover had to flee for his life when he refused to grant warrants for the arrest of suspected persons. It may have been accidental, though it

¹ In 1630 an epidemic, very similar to that of Salem, broke out in the Ursuline Convent at Loudun, France, which spread to the town and resulted in the burning as a wizard of the Curé Grandier—a man who had made many enemies. It is clear from the evidence that the possessed nuns were easily influenced by "suggestion," and that men in high quarters used the occasion to wreak their vengeance on the unfortunate priest.—*Histoire des Diables de Loudun*, Amsterdam, 1693.

To George Gwin gentl. & Right Sheriff of New Hampshire
of Extra Gaolings

Whereas Bridget Bishop at Oliver the wife of Danie, Brewster
in the County of Essex Lawyer at a special Court of Oyer and Terminer
on the second Day of this instant month of June for the Crime of
Murder and Suffield before William Stoughton Esq^r and his Associate
of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon two indictments
for having trafficking and practicing as a Witch in New-Hampshire
last past and did then before said Court
willfully and upon the Body of Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam Jr.
Mary Lewis, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village
Suffield women, where by their Bodys were first affilcted and perished
hastily and tormentedly contrary to the forme of the Statute in that Case
provided to which Indictment the said Bridget Bishop proceeded
and for the same whereof put her selfe upon her Country, who
she was found guilty of the greatest and wilfullest whereon the poor
Indicted and sentence of Death accordingly passed ag^t her in the Law
Court Execution whereof yet remaineth to be donee This 20th day
of June in the Year of our Lord 1692
William and Mary now Kinges Queenes in
England by will and Command you shall upon the 21st instant coming
Sunday day of this instant month of June between the hours of eight a
Clocke in the morning of his said day You shalby command Mr. Benj^t
Bishop at Oliver from said Majesties Gaol in Salem afores^d to the place
Execution and there cause him to be hanged by the necke in his proesse
out of your dunge wherein make sufficiente to the Clerk of the A^d Court in
receipt whereof you are not to fail at your peris^t and the same to
sufficiente warrant given under my hand & seal at Boston the 20th
of June in the fourtie year of the Reigne of our Sovereign Lord
William and Mary now Kinges Queenes over England and thairre
W^m Stoughton

Death Warrant of Bridget Bishop.



probably was not, that with the end of the Salem tragedy the old order changed; the Congregational Church lost its control, through the elders, over the political and religious consciences of the colonists, and the government of Massachusetts became less theocratic and more democratic. The mistakes of the clergy in fomenting the excitement, and their reluctance to acknowledge their error after the crime, must have weakened their influence and hastened the decline of the influence they had previously held in the councils of the province.

Passing from New England to New France we find the personality of the devil as firmly believed in, but the devil himself kept under better control than in the Protestant communities. Mr. Robert Calif in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World,"¹ quotes the following from "An account of what an Indian told Capt. Hill" at Saco Fort. The Indian told him that "the French Ministers were better than the English, for before the French came among them there were a great many Witches among the Indians, but now there were none, and there were much witches among the English Ministers, as Borroughs, who was hanged for it." The prevalence of the witchcraft mania in New England and its absence from New France is certainly not accidental. The explanation does not reside so much in the mere difference of religious creeds as in the practices of the different churches.

While witchcraft delusions overtook Sweden, England, and the New England colonies, with the doleful result of the execution of many insane or innocent victims, Canada was exempt, and the southern English colonies were but feebly affected.

The Roman Catholic Church had always authorised

¹ Drake's *Witchcraft Delusion*, vol. ii., p. 75.

the belief that the human soul could hold intercourse with evil spirits, but it was only when the Inquisition was given jurisdiction over sorcery and witchcraft, as phases of heresy, that the supply strangely increased with the demand, as happened in New England afterwards. The Inquisition did its work well, for Paramo boasts that by 1404, within a century and a half of its foundation, it had burnt at least 30,000 witches (probably a gross exaggeration) who, if "left unchecked, could easily have brought the whole world to destruction."¹

But with the great upheaval of belief in the sixteenth century, which extended far beyond the limits of the countries which threw off the control of the Church, there seemed to be a violent accession of the witchcraft mania. The French Canadian believed as firmly as the Puritan in the existence of a personal devil and was more superstitious; but had there sprung up a witchcraft delusion, the devils would have fled at the fiat of the Bishop and the power of exorcism been exerted over the possessed.² The hysterical affection would thus have been cured without the application of the stake or the gallows, for generally neither the Jesuits nor the Recollets, still less the secular clergy, approved of the drastic measures of the Dominicans.

It was not, therefore, because the Church of Rome discouraged belief in demoniacal possession that Canada was saved from such hateful proceedings as cast a shadow over the early history of the New England colonies. The freedom of the French colony from any such epidemic of nervous disease may be accidental, but it is more probably due to some specific cause.

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. xviii., p. 697.

² The psychic influence of the mere act of exorcism of the priest, in certain cases of mental distress or aberration—if the patient believes—must be beneficial.

Had it broken out, as drastic a treatment would doubtless have been recommended by the clerical practitioners of Quebec as was prescribed by the Puritan divines. Both priests and elders considered demoniacal possession a disease which it was theirs and not the physician's province to cure. The explanation lies in the fact that the healthy, active, outdoor life of the Canadian left him little spare energy for thought, even had he been encouraged to speculate on the mysteries of life, death, and the hereafter. But the Church taught him that these were subjects on which faith, not reason, was to be exercised, and on which the Church had spoken authoritatively.

After Richelieu had, in the Charter of the Company of the One Hundred Associates, forbidden the Huguenots to reside in Canada, there was no one to contradict or cast a doubt on the decrees of the Church. And therefore, on these mysterious subjects, which elsewhere disturbed men's minds and unsettled their reason, there was only one opinion, and that was the doctrine of the Church as laid down authoritatively by its divinely ordained exponents, the priests. Moreover, there was not in Canada the poverty and misery, which, in some European countries where the Church's authority was recognised, tended to weaken men's faith in its infallibility and drove them to seek relief in strange delusions. The simple, believing, illiterate, hard-worked *habitant* of the St. Lawrence was as little prone to dangerous tampering with forbidden subjects of thought as the devout but pleasure-loving girls of the more educated class in the cities. We cannot conceive of Quebec or Montreal maidens, who expected to be married at from fourteen to sixteen, playing at *witches* like the afflicted children of Salem, though it would not have been surprising had pupils of the Mère Marie de l'Incarnation left the

Ursuline Convent with a strong tendency towards mysticism.

According to the teaching of the Canadian clergy the devils were nearly as thick in Canada as among the wigwams of the Indians of New England; and with probably more truth than they were aware of, the Indian medicine man was identified with a sorcerer, for the Indians were and are arrant spiritualists.

The Indians conceived, as do most primitive peoples, that natural objects "were endowed with a certain spiritual life, and that innumerable supernatural beings either resided in or were, as it were, the soul of, rivers, rocks and forests, as well as of birds, beasts and fishes."¹ It was this reverence for the keener instincts or the greater strength of certain members of the animal kingdom which induced every Indian to adopt as the symbol of his *manitou* a denizen of the air, earth, or water. These *manitous* were supposed to watch over him and really perform the functions of the tutelary saint, but in the estimation of the priest, as well as of the Puritan divine, they were veritable demons. The Indian carried about with him some image or charm as the visible reminder of his *manitou*. Thwaites justly remarks that "the replacement by the image of a saint of his visible representation of the *manitou* was easier than its replacement by a purely mental conception such as would be required of him by his Puritan teacher."²

The Jesuits were, however, scholars and thoughtful students of humanity and had more than a suspicion that some of the Indian medicine men were suffering from mental aberration. Father Bressani, in describing their remedies for disease, says: "Superstition was every-

¹ Thwaites, *Jesuits*, vol. xiii., p. 270.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxix., p. 201.

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where current, though we after long and diligent investigation were not able to convince them that in their remedies or in their diseases there was nothing above the forces of nature, nor could we find any trace of true magic or witchcraft and evil art, because the demon which possessed them so absolutely and without meeting any opposition in the soul, does not care to become their slave, as in the case of witches and wizards, whose soul he claims in payment of the slight services which he renders them."¹

Mère Marie in her monastery was as excited as the population at large by the terrible earthquake of 1663, and tells how, as a warning of the impending calamity, a pious woman, who, as this was the feast of the Martyrs of Japan, was entreating them to intercede for the sins of the people, "saw four demons furious and raging at the four corners of Quebec, who struck the earth with such violence that it appeared as though they would upset it. And in fact this would have happened, if a person of extraordinary beauty and of ravishing majesty had not appeared in the midst of them and allayed the intensity of their fury and checked them, when on the point of destroying everything."² These curious hallucinations, while expressive of as profound and sincere conviction in diabolical intervention as that entertained by the Puritan divines and their congregations, certainly took on a more poetical aspect and seem not to have worked up their believers to the perpetration of such methods of repression as we have seen resorted to in fighting the devil in New England. For in the annals of Canada we find reference to only one case of witchcraft, and this was treated mildly.

The Jesuit Journal for December, 1661, has the

¹ Thwaites, *Jesuits*, vol. xxxix., p. 25.

² Marie de l' Incarnation's *Letters*, pp. 576-577.

following entry: "In this month Barbe Hale was brought from Beauport. She had been possessed with a demon of lunacy for five or six months, but only at intervals. At first she was placed in a room in the old Hospital, where she passed the night in the company of a keeper of her own sex, a priest and some servants. *Longa historia, de qua alibi fuse.*" The story was probably told in full in the private letter which the Father sent to the Provincial of the society in France. But the meagre account is supplemented by a somewhat different version in one of the Mère Marie de l'Incarnation's charming letters to her son in September, 1661. After describing the horrors of the Iroquois War she adds: "We have had gloomy presages of all these misfortunes. Since the departure of the vessels in 1660 signs have appeared in the skies which have frightened many. A comet, whose tail pointed to the earth, appeared at night. A man on fire and enveloped in flames was seen in the air, and a burning canoe and a fiery cross in the direction of Montreal. On the Island of Orleans a child in its mother's womb was heard to cry, and from the air were heard confused and mournful cries of women and children. All these occurrences have produced, as you may well imagine, abject terror.

"To add to this we find that there are sorcerers and magicians in the land. That was made manifest in the person of a carpenter who had come from France at the same time as Monseigneur the Bishop. He had been a Huguenot but had abjured all heresy. This man wished to marry a girl, who had come out with her father and mother in the same vessel. He averred that she had promised to be his wife, but his habits not being good, her people would not listen to it. On their refusal he tried to attain his ends by means of his diabolical art. He called up demons or the spirit of mad-

men, and haunted the house of the girl with spectres which greatly troubled and frightened her. For a time we were ignorant of the cause of this new manifestation, and till the magician himself appeared we had reason to believe that malice actuated this miserable being, for he showed himself day and night, sometimes alone—at other times accompanied by two or three others, whom the girl named, though she had never seen them. The Bishop sent the Fathers and even went himself to exorcise the devils by the prayers of the Church. Nevertheless no good came of it, and the incident was more and more noised about. People saw phantoms, heard drums beaten and flutes played, pieces of stone were detached from the walls and wafted hither and thither, and the magician continued with his allies to trouble the girl. Their object was to force her to marry that wretched man, who certainly intended to wed but wished beforehand to seduce her. As the place where this happened was far from Quebec and it put the Fathers to considerable trouble going thither to practise their exorcism, the Bishop, seeing that the devils purposely exposed them to this fatigue, and tired of the buffooneries, ordered the girl and the carpenter to be brought to Quebec. He put the man in prison and the girl into seclusion with the Hospital nuns. And there the matter now stands. . . . As to the magician and the other sorcerers they will confess nothing. And they have not been charged with any offense for it is not easy to convict people of that kind of crime. After rooting out these sorcerers the whole country has been afflicted with a malady of which they are accused as being the author. . . . We have all been attacked: and boarders, day scholars and servants have been at death's door. Altogether I do not think there have been twenty people in all Canada who have escaped the

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disease. So universal has it been that there is good reason to believe that these miserables have poisoned the air."

Despite such provocation by the denizens of the invisible world, no one seems to have been hanged, but the carpenter and Barbe Hale do not appear in the Register as having married, though judging from the above story, the one was anxious and the other not averse. Without the consent of the Church there was no marrying or giving in marriage, and the morals of the little community, with so many priests or nuns to the few inhabitants, were too closely scrutinised to permit of any gross irregularity between the sexes. The interesting phase of the only case of suspected witchcraft recorded among the whole population of Canada is that at least some of the priests were inclined to attribute the vagaries of the girl to natural causes and treat her as insane.

CHAPTER XVI

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE— ALGONQUIN MISSION

WHEN Cartier explored the St. Lawrence on his three voyages between 1534 and 1542, he met natives of the Iroquois stock, between Gaspé Basin and the foot of the Lachine Rapids, who had built large villages on the sites of Quebec and Montreal. Between that date and Champlain's establishment of the colony of New France in 1608 the Iroquois had abandoned the river and in their stead the French found bands of docile wandering Algonquin Indians, who were incapable of organised resistance to the colonists, and who, wherever approached, in l'Acadie, or the Lake St. John region, or on the Kennebec, were peculiarly susceptible to missionary effort. They were feeble folk, and Champlain's willingness to aid them in their domestic quarrels with the overbearing Iroquois doubtless predisposed them to accept the religion of their powerful allies.

The same influence may have moved the Hurons to yield ready submission to the teaching of the Church. They were, when the French first came in contact with them, settled on Lake Huron, as a numerous and powerful nation. They had probably been driven from the St. Lawrence by the Iroquois Confederation, and being in dread of their powerful kinsfolk, were eager for

French assistance. This Champlain extended to them on two memorable occasions. There are consequently good reasons why the tribes most submissive to French domination should have been least hostile to Christianity. The Church and State advanced hand in hand in their relations to the Indian from the very beginning of French colonisation. When Cartier left the River St. Charles in the spring of 1533 he erected a cross as the symbol of Christianity, but on it was inscribed, not *Jesus Nazarenis Rex Iudeorum* but *Franciscus Rex Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat*, and so it was till the end of the chapter. And subsequently, in comparing the success of the French clergy, as missionaries, with that of the New England elders, due allowance must be given to the actual alliance of the French Government with the Indians who recognised the French sphere of influence, which was always closer than that of the Puritans with the Indian tribes occupying New England territory, even prior to the Pequot and King Philip wars.

The first missionary efforts of the French were contemporaneous with the first French settlements made on the continent. Henry III in the year of his death, 1598, promised, and Henry IV gave to the Sieur de la Roche a commission, with ample concession, to form a colony, and to govern, as Lieutenant-General, the whole watershed of the St. Lawrence, as well as portions of the Atlantic Coast which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to Raleigh. As this littoral was subsequently, in more express terms, conceded by King James to the Virginia Company, a conflict between the colonists of the two nations was inevitable, and the work of evangelisation was not only interfered with by war, but became combined with the State in unholy alliances, political and commercial feuds and interests.

The next participant of the royal bounty was de Monts, a Huguenot. He and his partners accepted the concession with its condition to evangelise the natives. Their motives were distinctly mercenary and the immigrants they imported were not religious enthusiasts like the English colonists, but paid employees of rather indifferent habits. Nevertheless they commenced their operations by missionary work among the aborigines, introducing for that purpose ministers of their own persuasion, and also a secular Roman Catholic priest, Messire (Missire) Jesse Flick. He did some effective missionary work, for, according to Lescarbot, Chief Memberton, all his family, and twenty others were baptised, and he¹ offered to have the whole tribe converted, if necessary by force. But the Colony was not to be left to the guidance of easy-going secular priests and heretic preachers. They of course carried on endless and bitter arguments, which amused the French and bewildered the savages. They also converted Champlain, the future governor, who looked on as an unprejudiced layman, to the conclusion that "the example of two opposing religions is not conducive to the glory of God in the sight of the heathen." The tolerant influence of Henry IV was succeeded by the bigotry of Marie de Medici. Consequently her Jesuit advisers replaced in l'Acadie the secular clergy, and drove out the preachers. Lescarbot, though a Catholic, had an ardent admiration for his friend de Monts, and could see "no need of these *Docteurs sublimes* (the Jesuits), who would be more usefully employed fighting heresy and vice at home." But, in fact, none but the sublimely astute followers of Loyola could adroitly fill the rôle of priest and politician, which became the dual function of the clergy of New France. Therefore, in

¹ Thorpe, *The Relations*, vol. i., p. 72.

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1611, they made their first appearance in this northern section of the North American continent, under the patronage and through the financial assistance of Madame de Guercherville.¹

Father Biard and Father Enemond Masse were the first missionaries to l'Acadie. They applied themselves at once to learning the Micmac language and acquainting themselves with the habits of the aborigines, to criticising the lax practices of their predecessor, and the sincerity of his converts. In 1613, another priest, Father Quentin, and a lay brother, Gilbert du Thet, came out in a ship under command of La Saussaye, with authority to establish distant missions, free from the contamination of the Huguenot influence and heresy. La Saussaye embarked the Fathers Biard and Masse, who seem, unlike others of the Order, to have been glad to abandon the Port Royal field to the enemy, and he landed the two priests and Du Thet on Mont Desert. They had hardly commenced to establish the mission station of Saint Sauveur on that picturesque shore when Argal swooped down upon it from Virginia and effectually scattered priest and layman. The only death resulting from the unopposed assault was that of Brother du Thet.

Father Biard's *Relations* are very interesting as geographical and ethnological records, but they lack the ring of the missionary devotee, which sounds so clearly in the letters of the later Jesuit apostles to the Indians.

The Capuchin and the Recollet aided the Jesuit in evangelising the Micmacs, Abnakis, and other tribes of the Algonquin stock to the north and south of the gulf

"The earliest Jesuit mission established was that founded by a Company of eight Spanish Jesuits and lay brothers, with a number of educated Indian boys under Father Juan Bautista Segura at Axacan in Virginia in 1570." *Handbook of American Indians*, article, "Mission," vol. i., p. 877.

and river of St. Lawrence. The records of their labours are scanty; but the results were demonstrated by the group of Christian Indians gathered in the missionary settlements of Sillery, and others on the St. Lawrence, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec. The Norridgeway Mission on the Kennebec was the scene of Father Rale's death, in one of the most lamentable raids in the border warfare of the eighteenth century.

The Micmacs are to-day probably as numerous as in the seventeenth century, numbering between three thousand and four thousand souls. Starvation always stared them in the face, as they wandered in winter in the precarious search for game and in summer depended on fish diet. The hardships to which they were exposed, and in which their women and children shared, were adverse to fecundity or rapid propagation. Since the arrival of the whites they have been exposed to contagious diseases from which they were previously free, and have succumbed to vices by which previously they were not tempted. On the other hand, their numbers have not for more than a century and a half been drained by losses in war; and though from large areas of their hunting-grounds game has been driven by civilisation and game laws protect certain animals, yet as slight compensation they are armed with implements of the chase much more effective and deadly than those their forefathers wielded. Like the docile tribes of the Southwest, the Pimas, the Papagos, and the members of the great Algonquin family of the north-eastern section of the continent, they are, with few exceptions, faithful to the Christian church of their fathers; but they are as reluctant as were their ancestors to adopt our modes of life. The adoption of Christianity has not involved the acceptance of civilisation.

The story of Catholic missions to the Great Lakes and

the Mississippi is one of exploration as well as evangelisation, for, though the traders sometimes preceded the priests, the priests at other times led the way. Marquette's canoe on the 17th of June, 1673, shot from the Wisconsin on to the Mississippi, probably before any other white man had floated on its upper waters. He christened the great river "Conception," but posterity, less devout than its discoverer, preferred the Indian name. Hennepin, after making full allowance for his tendency to romance, was an original explorer when sent forward by La Salle. The *Relations* of all the Jesuits constitute a body of geographical and ethnological information more reliable probably than the reports of their purely religious work, because less distorted by their intense enthusiasm. The map of Lake Superior published with Allouez's *Relation* of 1670-71 is a wonderfully correct piece of cartography, vastly more so than the maps of contemporary navigators, who may be assumed to have possessed more skill and better instruments.

The story of the first invasion of the Western mission field by the Recollets in 1615 has already been told. Their teaching had not been forgotten by the Hurons when eighteen years later the Jesuits resumed the work which was to end in the stupendous tragedy of 1649. The Huron Mission was from a worldly point of view a waste of labour, for between the years 1615, when Le Caron first visited the Georgian Bay, and the dispersion of the remnants of the Hurons in 1650, twenty-nine missionaries had laboured among the Hurons, and of these seven had suffered violent deaths.¹

From a clerical point of view the result of the missions was the reverse of discouraging, inasmuch as the Society of Jesus was thereby encouraged to renewed

¹ Shea, p. 195.



La Salle.

efforts to convert the executioners of their converts, and the Iroquois Mission received a fresh impulse. But the Jesuit missions to the Iroquois had a very checkered record. One reason may have been that the combination, if not confusion, between work for the State and work for the Church by the missionaries had a doubtful effect on the progress of Christianity. Prejudice against the French by the tribes occupying the fertile valleys between the Hudson and the Niagara was created at the outset by Champlain's campaigns against them in 1609 and 1615, a prejudice which the Dutch and the English fostered from both political and commercial motives. As a result this chain of warlike tribes became, as it were, a buffer state between the two aspirants for continental control. Had the French been able to win them over, French occupation of the Ohio Valley would have been easier, and there would have been less opposition to French expansion beyond the Lakes and the Ohio into the Mississippi country. In every decade of the history of New France the Iroquois appear as a disturbing element, requiring the energies of the Colony to be expended in either diplomatic negotiations with these shrewd Indian politicians, or in war with a foe mobile, crafty, and courageous. In imagination an Iroquois brave was stalking behind every tree, and an Iroquois canoe was concealed in every river thicket from Lake Champlain to Hudson Bay. The farmer sowed his seed in dread, and hesitated before taking the risk of garnering his harvest, and for years together the great waterway between the Lakes and the St. Lawrence by Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa was closed to both white traders and the Indian fur hunters by this ubiquitous foe. They could be subdued only by diplomatic effort or by war. The instruments of peaceable conquest were the Jesuits, for they alone,

through their intimate knowledge of Indian ways and modes of thought, as well as their acquaintance with the Indian language, could act as diplomatic advisers when treaties were made at the seat of Canadian government, or as agents when negotiations had to be conducted in the Indian council chamber. But though these highly educated and clever men must have taken a keen interest in the game of politics which they were helping to plan, their diplomatic service was always subordinate to their priestly duties, and they assumed the inferior function to enable them the more successfully to perform the higher.

The first Jesuit victims of the Iroquois were René Goupil, always called "the good René, serving as a donné," Father Jogues, and a Frenchman, Couture, who fell into an ambush while on their way with the Hurons to Georgian Bay in 1642. Couture, was adopted into the Mohawk tribe. René, was killed. Father Jogues, after long suspense and intolerable torture, in which his hands were so maimed that Innocent VI granted him a dispensation to celebrate mass, was persuaded by the Dutch of Albany (Rensselaers wyck) to make his escape to France by way of New Amsterdam. He had, however, acquired such knowledge of the Iroquois, and of their language, that he was selected in 1646, three years later, to accompany the Sieur Bourdon as ambassador to his former tormentors. Going on a secular mission he was persuaded to don secular clothing. The envoys succeeded in effecting a peace, which proved as short-lived as were all such intermissions between these savage wars; but the enthusiastic Father, believing otherwise, determined to return, and left a small box behind him with ritual and sacred vessels. This proved his undoing, for during his absence a fatal epidemic broke out and an army of caterpillars devastated the

fields. The medicine men attributed their calamities to the mysterious box, and both he and his companion, John Lalande, were treacherously murdered at Caughnawaga. He was the first and yet the only missionary to the Iroquois who suffered death at their hands while on a mission to their country, though subsequently many visited the different tribes, either as political emissaries or as religious proselytisers, and in both capacities they were obnoxious to a large section of the tribesmen.

The attitude of the different members of the Confederacy towards the French, and therefore towards the Jesuits, who were the only priests of the Church who did missionary work among the Iroquois, was determined, in a measure, by their geographical position. The territory of the Mohawks adjoined that of the Dutch and subsequently the English, and their three principal villages were within sixty-two miles of Albany. The first, Te-hon-da-lo-go, or the Lower Castle, was near Fort Hunter, thirty-one miles distant from the Hudson; the second, Ga-na-jo-ha-e, or the Middle Castle, near Fort Plain, was fifty-two miles; and the third, Ga-ne-ga-ha-ga, the Upper Castle, near Danube, was sixty-two miles. Near Utica the trail entered the territory of the Oneidas.

The Mohawks had received firearms in exchange for their furs from the Dutch. This alone was sufficient to forge a binding "covenant chain," and the English who succeeded them were willing to use weapons and fire-water in barter. Champlain in his first attack on the Iroquois in 1609 had taught them the potency of powder and shot. Though the French were long unwilling to put these dangerous elements of destruction into the hands of their own allies, lest they be turned against them, the traders on the Hudson had no such

scruples, and therefore the early possession of guns by the Mohawks gave additional strength to their civil and military organisation and their native courage and intelligence. Albany, or, to use its Indian name, which was transferred to a modern alibi, Ska-nek-ta-de, was the armory of the Mohawks, and this advantage bound this eastern member of the Confederacy indissolubly to the English. But the western cantons, exposed to attack both by the French and by hostile tribes on their western flank, especially the Eries, were always more inclined to peace with the French and more open to conversion than the Mohawks and Oneidas. Still both Mohawks and Onondagas invited Father Le Moyne in 1653 to visit them. He was received with all the ceremony of an ambassador. He returned to Quebec safe and sanguine, and with a report which inspired the Government with hope of an era of peace, and the priests with assurance of widespread conversion. While on this mission Father Le Moyne had received into the Church, under the baptismal name of John Baptist, a chief who was starting on a campaign against the Eries. He accepted the rite as a charm, so powerful that it enabled him to rout the enemy in a battle, in which they were fourfold stronger than himself. Returning unscathed and victorious the following summer, he was a staunch advocate for entreating the return of the Black Robes, and the establishment of even a French colony in the Onondaga Canton. The offer was made and accepted, and Fathers Claude Dablon and Chaumonot started at once on their quixotic enterprise. On the road they ministered to such of their old Huron converts as they found in captivity to the Iroquois; they made a convert of Chief John Baptist's wife, and were received with acclamation on arrival at Onondaga. A delightful site

was given them for the future mission, on which they erected a chapel, the first Catholic place of worship consecrated to the service of the Church of Rome in the State of New York. Father Dablon in his enthusiasm wrote that "it was built not of marble and precious stones, but of bark, through which a path leads to heaven as direct as through a fretted roof of gold and silver." Father Chaumonot, who was appointed to the mission, was a preacher who could use the emblematic language of the Indians in their own tongue as deftly and to as interminable lengths as their own professional orators, and for a time it seemed as though their high hopes were to be realised. But the Mohawks were opposed to an alliance, and unanimity of council was required by the conditions of the Confederacy. Nevertheless, proselytising and baptising continued till a rumour reached the village that an Onondaga Indian had been arrested in Quebec. Father Dablon thereupon hurried back to the capital for confirmation, leaving his colleague to appease the suspicions of the Indians in his absence. Despite the threatening signs, and the warning of a Huron who had lived long among the Onondagas, Father Dablon and the Jesuits were so confident of their influence that they persuaded M. de Lauzon, the governor, to despatch a group of settlers to the very seat of war. Sixty Frenchmen returned with the missionaries to the valley, thus weakening the already slender force of the parent colony. By a miscalculation, an attempt of the Mohawks to destroy the detachment while *en route* failed. Whether or not the plot was prearranged between the Mohawks and the Onondagas must remain uncertain, but all pretence of friendliness was now thrown off by the Mohawks.

The French colony arrived and the mission of St. Mary was established. Seven Onondagas and Hurons

constituted the nucleus of what for a time it was thought would grow into a prosperous church. Fresh recruits—lay and clerical—started from the St. Lawrence for the Colony in July, 1657, but on the road the Hurons, who were of the party, were massacred. The French, who expected to share the same fate, were spared from motives of policy. On reaching St. Mary they found that undisguised aversion had succeeded to the real or assumed friendship, and that the Colony was in imminent danger of extermination. They managed to send to Quebec news of the altered attitude of all the tribes, but before their messenger arrived actual war had broken out on the St. Lawrence. Governor D'Aillebout had, however, by a clever move succeeded in arresting a number of Iroquois, whom he held as hostages for the French in the valley. The winter of 1657–58 was a period of agonised suspense in Quebec. The colonists relieved their anxiety by building two boats. They had also hidden nine canoes. On March 20, 1658, the Indians indulged in one of their ravenous feasts. When gorged, sleep overcame them as profoundly as though they had become intoxicated by alcohol. The colonists took advantage of it and escaped from the savages, who had prepared the instruments of torture by which they were to be slowly done to death. The Indian rule of courtesy forbade the host prying into the cabins of his guests during the early hours of the day, and this assisted in their escape. Strict regard to diplomatic usage saved Father Le Moyne, who was busy in the Mohawk country as political envoy as well as missionary, and therefore in May he also, as well as the colonists, reappeared as from the dead. Thus ended the one serious attempt to invade the Iroquois country by peaceable means. While this hopeless experiment was being tried by the French, the agents of the Confederation

were conspiring with the Hurons at Quebec to abandon their French allies and rejoin their kinsmen. It was only when all who could be cajoled into deserting their fellow-tribesmen had left, that the mask was thrown off.

While the religious ardour of the converts of Onondaga may not have been sufficiently keen to withstand in all cases the reproach of unpatriotism to which after the flight of their pastor the flock must have been exposed, the influence of the Jesuits' teaching never died out. One at least of their converts, the Chief Garancolie, was for years a very bulwark of the faith against the assaults of the heathen, and an advocate for peace and mercy. In this capacity he had full scope for his influence, as merciless war at once broke out, and till 1660 the Iroquois blockaded the trade route between the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, spread terror through the French settlements on the river, and wreaked their vengeance on the Indian allies of the French to the very shores of Hudson Bay. A temporary peace, after exchange of presents and much oratory, was negotiated in 1660. Prisoners were released, and Father Le Moyne returned to the Onondaga Canton and there remained till the spring of 1661. His exhibition of courage had probably a stimulating effect; but baptising two hundred babies, dying of smallpox, must have counted for little in the estimation of the savages.

From the Jesuits' own *Relations* one would infer that the effect of their missionary efforts was more marked on the women than on the men. There were to the warriors the cogent arguments of fact in contradiction to the logic of the priests. To the untutored mind of the savage there was the same incongruity between the Jesuit preaching peace and Champlain, without any provocation, shooting them down, as between the sweet teaching of Eliot and the ready resort to arms

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by Miles Standish. The Chinese of to-day also find it difficult to trace a reasonable connection between the killing of a Roman Catholic priest by an irresponsible mob and the absorption of Kiao-chou Bay by the German Empire.

The assumption, by the French authorities, of the government of the Colony in 1665 was immediately followed by two campaigns against the Iroquois: an attack in winter by Governor de Courcelle, which failed, and one the following summer by the Viceroy Tracy, which succeeded. Defeat for a time quelled the war-like spirit of the Confederacy, which seemed—but only seemed—to be losing its coherence, owing to the slackness of the Western tribes in aiding the Mohawks to repel the attacks of the French. One result of this dissociation was that a number of the Cayugas emigrated to Canada and established a settlement on the Bay of Quinte to the north of Lake Ontario. Intractable as were the Mohawks to missionary influence, the Oneidas were still less impressionable. The Onondagas were of all the tribes the most receptive. Their virtual head, Garacontie, to whom we have already referred, when on a peaceful mission to Quebec to avert a war, received baptism in the Cathedral of Quebec at the hands of Bishop Laval.

The Cayugas also received the missionaries kindly and raised a chapel, which Father de Cartheil dedicated to St. Joseph. So favourable was the prospect in 1669 that it appeared as though the much hoped for conversion of the whole Confederacy to the faith and to French influence would be effected. In that year a council of the missionaries was held at the Millet mission-house at Onondaga to formulate plans and methods. It was attended by Fathers Fremin and Garnier of the Seneca Mission, Bruyas from Oneida, Pierron from the Mo-

hawks, and De Cartheil of Cayuga. It was a short period of deceptive quietness, the result of exhaustion, not of satisfaction,—for the friction between the colonists of the two Christian nations became more acute as the century wore to its close, and both sides used their Indian allies in barbarous border warfare. The French soldier displaced the French priest, and ravaged the same Indian country in which the priest thought he had sowed the seeds of peace. Terrible reprisals followed. The Iroquois butchered two hundred Canadians and carried off two hundred more on whom to gratify their fiendish pleasure of inflicting pain. Frenchmen and Indians surprised Schenectady and repeated the horror of Lachine. And thus ended the Iroquois mission in the flames of burning homesteads, the war-whoop of the Indian, the scream of women and children, and the curses of men.

It was a sad exhibition of the colonial methods of two Christian Powers, with a whole undeveloped continent before them awaiting merely the touch of civilised man to yield sustenance and wealth untold; but a far sadder commentary on the perverse interpretation given to Christ's message of peace by those who claimed to be his messengers in two churches. By their bigotry they intensified the hateful passions excited by race rivalry, commercial greed, and territorial ambition, instead of using their offices and influence in fostering harmony and goodwill among men.¹

The villages of Christian Indians in Canada remain as the one permanent result of the Iroquois Missions.

¹ Shea's *History of the Catholic Mission among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*, p. 293. Dr. Shea gathers from the *Relations* that during the ten years of the Jesuit labours among the Iroquois, 2221 persons were baptised. But the most of these were babies, many of them on the point of death, and the baptism was administered in not a few cases surreptitiously. The record is from 1668 to 1678.

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The Mission of St. Francis Xavier des Près, at Laprairie, opposite Montreal, received converts principally from the Mohawk and Oneida cantons, but it was abandoned. The Bay of Quinte Mission was recruited in great part from Cayuga converts and was conducted at first by priests of St. Sulpice, and is now an Indian reservation occupied chiefly by Mohawks. But when the Mission of the Mountain, within the seignorial territory of the priests of St. Sulpice, was established to harbour Iroquois who had renounced paganism, and to protect converts who probably preferred it, on the score of safety, to Caughnawaga, the Sulpicians resigned their Quinte mission to the Recollets.

The most important mission, that of Caughnawaga, survives as a flourishing village on the south shore of the St. Lawrence above the Lachine Rapids. Though many Iroquois came to it from the Mohawks and Oneidas, Christian Hurons and Algonquins who had escaped from the Iroquois country constituted most of its inhabitants. Converted Indians alone were admitted, but they retained their tribal and military organisation: and when religious crusading zeal inflamed their warlike instincts they became a very important branch of the forces which conducted the border warfare along the entire frontier of New York and New England. Colonel Dongan, the Governor of New York, with the aid of English Jesuits, tried to tempt the Caughnawaga Indians to emigrate to a more advantageous site near Saratoga; but the lure did not seduce them.

After the annihilation of the Hurons as a nation, the bands which remained on the lake had a checkered career as Wyandots, wafted hither and thither in alliance or in conflict with more powerful tribes, but never losing some faint memories of their old teachers and

their lessons. A little community of the Wyandots lives in peace in Onderdon Township, Ontario, and another very small one, separated from their brothers by fifteen hundred miles, formed an atom in that heterogeneous mass of aboriginal humanity in the Indian Territory, now incorporated into the State of Oklahoma.

But the most notable group are the descendants of those who were led by their pastor to Canada and still live as devoted Catholics in the village of Lorette, near Quebec.

Under such conditions as prevailed during the last decade of the seventeenth century, preaching the gospel of peace was a farce; but worse still, a missionary was deluded by Governor Denonville to betray his converts. Father John de Lamberville, who had endeared himself to the Western tribes, invited their principal chiefs to a peace conference. They came; were treacherously seized, and sent to the galleys. The Father was still in the Indian territory; but the savages, knowing that he had been deceived as well as they, permitted him to escape. With him vanished the Jesuit missionary, but not the soldier.

Frontenac succeeded Denonville as governor for a second term. He carried fire and sword literally into the Mohawk country, making no distinction in his vengeance between the Indians who had committed the Lachine and other atrocities and the English, who, he believed, had instigated the crimes. The barbarous border warfare, in which white Christians used religious bigotry as a motive to excite savages to the perpetration of savage acts on fellow-Christians, was the only missionary work done in Canada, New York, and New England for the next thirty years, and it was in the service of the devil,—not of God.

Apart from their labours in l'Acadie and the lower

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St. Lawrence, and in the Mohawk Valley, the Jesuits conducted three missionary enterprises in the West and South-west. They were the missions to the Ottawas, the Illinois and the Louisiana Indians. In the Ottawa Mission thirty priests of the Order were engaged between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. It was on July 2, 1642, that Father Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbaut, at the request of the Chippewas, first visited the falls of St. Mary, and it was about two hundred years later when Marin Le Franc and Pater Du Jaunay closed the famous missionary station at Mackinaw.¹

There was a lull after the destruction of the Hurons on Georgian Bay and the subsequent control by the Iroquois of the water highways to the Lakes, which interfered with missionary effort among the Western tribes as well as with French trade. Father Ménard was the next priest, after the resumption of work, to carry Christianity to Lake Superior, where he established in 1660 a short-lived mission, probably on the Keweenaw promontory. He strayed away from his companion, Guerin, and what befell him was never known. There were by this time not a few French traders on the lake, and representatives of nearly all the tribes visited Montreal to sell their peltries at the annual fair. Knowledge of the country and of its people was therefore not lacking; but even among the devoted followers of Loyola there were few who possessed the linguistic and other qualifications necessary for the task of invading successfully so vast a territory, occupied by so many different tribes. When the choice was made in 1664 it fell on Father Allouez. In the following year he started his thirty years of labour by paddling his canoe up the Ottawa,

¹Shea's *Catholic Missions*, p. 377.

through Lake Nipissing and down the French River into the Georgian Bay; then to the Sault—through that exquisitely beautiful fringe of islands that adorns the north shore of Lake Huron. At length he reached the scene of his earlier western labours on Lake Superior, where he established his mission of the Holy Ghost, at a spot still known as La Pointe du Saint Esprit. For two years he laboured alone among the Chippewas, Potawatamis, and Sacs, coming also into contact with the more distant Illinois and Miamis, and even with the Sioux, from whom he learned of the great river Mississippi. His success was not brilliant, for he and all who succeeded him had not only to convert the heathen but to counteract and dispel the evil influences of the reckless white traders, whose habits were in direct contradiction to the teaching of their clerical fellow-countrymen, but whose ways and whiskey were decidedly more to Indian taste. It was an uphill task, but undiscouraged, Allouez, after two years of experience, hurried to Quebec and rested there only three days, while persuading the Superior of the Order to allow Father Louis Nicholas to return with him. According to Dr. Shea,¹ Allouez preached the faith to twenty-five different tribes, who spoke as many tongues, and as a result, "gathered eighty souls by baptism into the Church of Christ."

In 1668 Father Jacques Marquette joined him, and Father Claude Dablon was in 1669 sent out as Superior of the Western Missions. He was chosen for that superior office, over his more distinguished fellow-workers, because of his high executive faculties,—such is the wonderful system of the Order and the Church.

The old mission of the Saint Esprit was abandoned in favour of the Sault, where representatives of nearly all the Lake tribes collected at certain seasons to catch

¹ *Catholic Missions*, p. 359.

whitefish. Allouez opened another mission, that of St. Francis on the Green Bay, where the Foxes, Potawatamis, and Winnebagos were accustomed to assemble. And Marquette in 1671 established the mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimackinac.¹ The Superior had been joined by others, notably by that indefatigable missionary, Father Druillette, who after having been intrusted with Christianising the Micmacs of the Kennebec and usefully employed by Gov. d'Aillebout on delicate diplomatic missions to New England, more than twenty years before, now turned his wonderful zeal and knowledge of Indian character to the conversion of the more obstinately hostile tribes of the West. His saintliness and medical skill it was hoped would be irresistible factors in winning the West to Christianity. But adverse forces were at work to prevent this accomplishment. War, the greatest foe to missions, distracted the native tribes, and the formal possession taken by France of the West in 1671, at a conference with the Indians held at Mackinaw, led to the invasion of the Lakes by France's enemy, the Iroquois. Meanwhile, the publication of the *Relations* ceased, and the principal source of information as to the causes of decline failed. Suffice it to say that in 1680, of the whole company of Jesuits, only Father Eupalra at Green Bay, and Pierre at Mackinaw, are mentioned as remaining at their posts. Though spasmodic efforts were subsequently made to repair the breach, the result of the labours of these early missionaries in Christianising and civilising, as a body, any of the Western tribes was almost inappreciable. Traditions and faint reflections of the old Christian faith and teaching have helped the Church in more recent times to revive with some success the enthu-

¹ Shea, p. 366.



Père Marquette's Pewter Plate and Spoon.

siasm of these seventeenth-century missions; but the difficulty of forcing the development of any barbarous people from savagery to civilisation by artificial means, rather than by natural evolution, seems to be exemplified everywhere in the case of our North American Indians. Even where Christianised, they will not adopt the habits which have been recognised as the outgrowth of Christianity, and which we call civilisation.

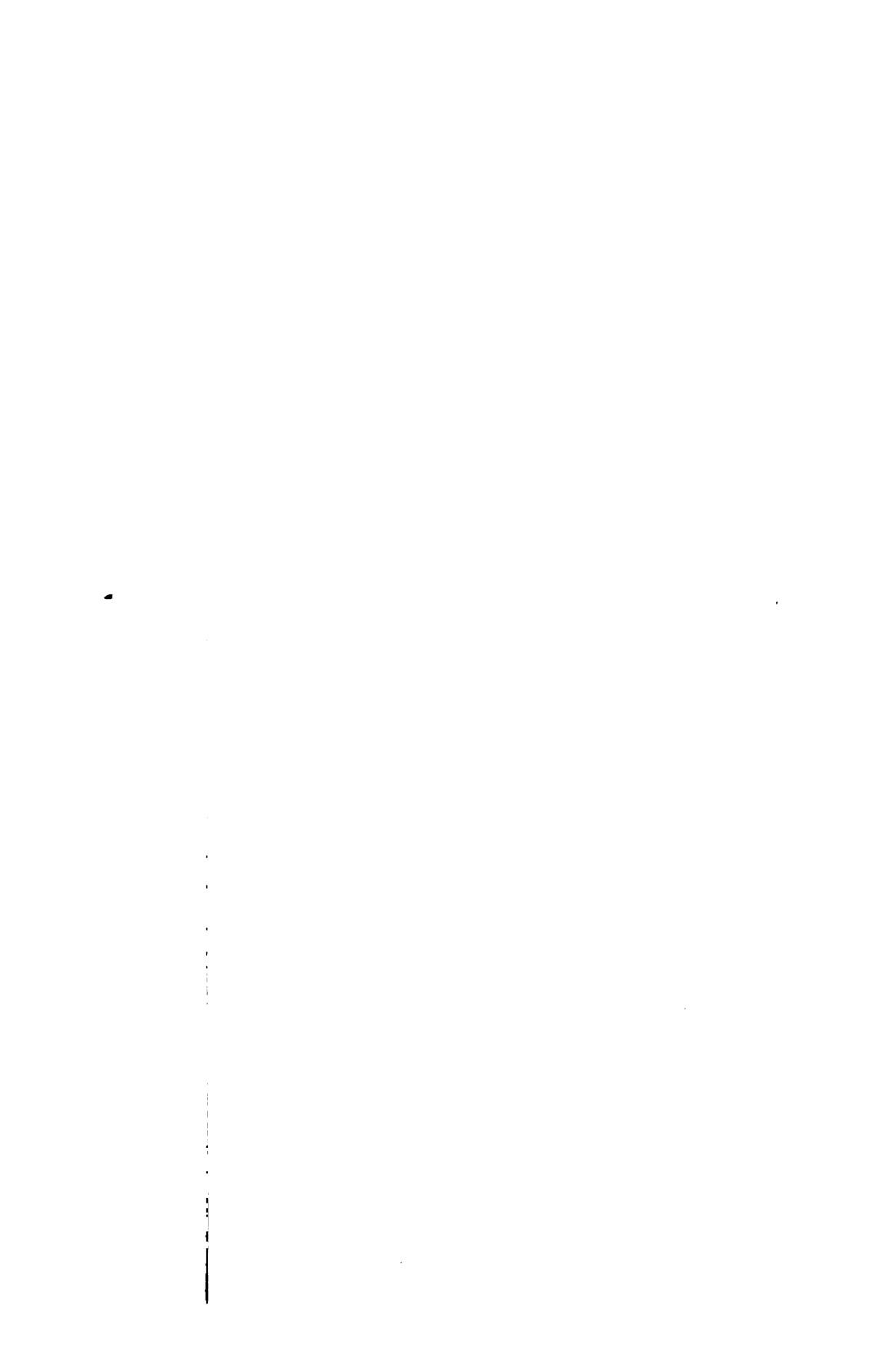
The Illinois Mission shared with the Ottawa Mission the directing care of Allouez and Marquette, and they were aided by the brave Marest and others who had laboured on the Lakes. But their work and devotion seem not to have left any more permanent impression on the Illinois and Miamis than on the Ottawas. The Illinois and the Miami were tribes of the Algonquin family, and of more sedentary habits than those of the Lakes. They therefore offered more propitious material for the priests to work upon, but the same cause, in aggravated form, which helped to wreck the Ottawa Mission, operated against the Illinois. The Iroquois followed the French and took vengeance on their feeble allies. La Salle and his lieutenant, Tonti, who explored the country of the Illinois in reaching the Mississippi, were hostile to the Jesuits and employed the Recollets as missionaries; and, in a modified degree, this had the same deleterious influence on Roman Catholic missions as denominationalism has had on Protestantism. But one must accept the criticism of the Recollets with reservations, for while two of the three Franciscans who accompanied La Salle's expedition, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde and Father Zenobie Membré, were above rancorous jealousy, Father Louis Hennepin, the romanticist, would not be more scrupulous in statements, when discussing the character of his

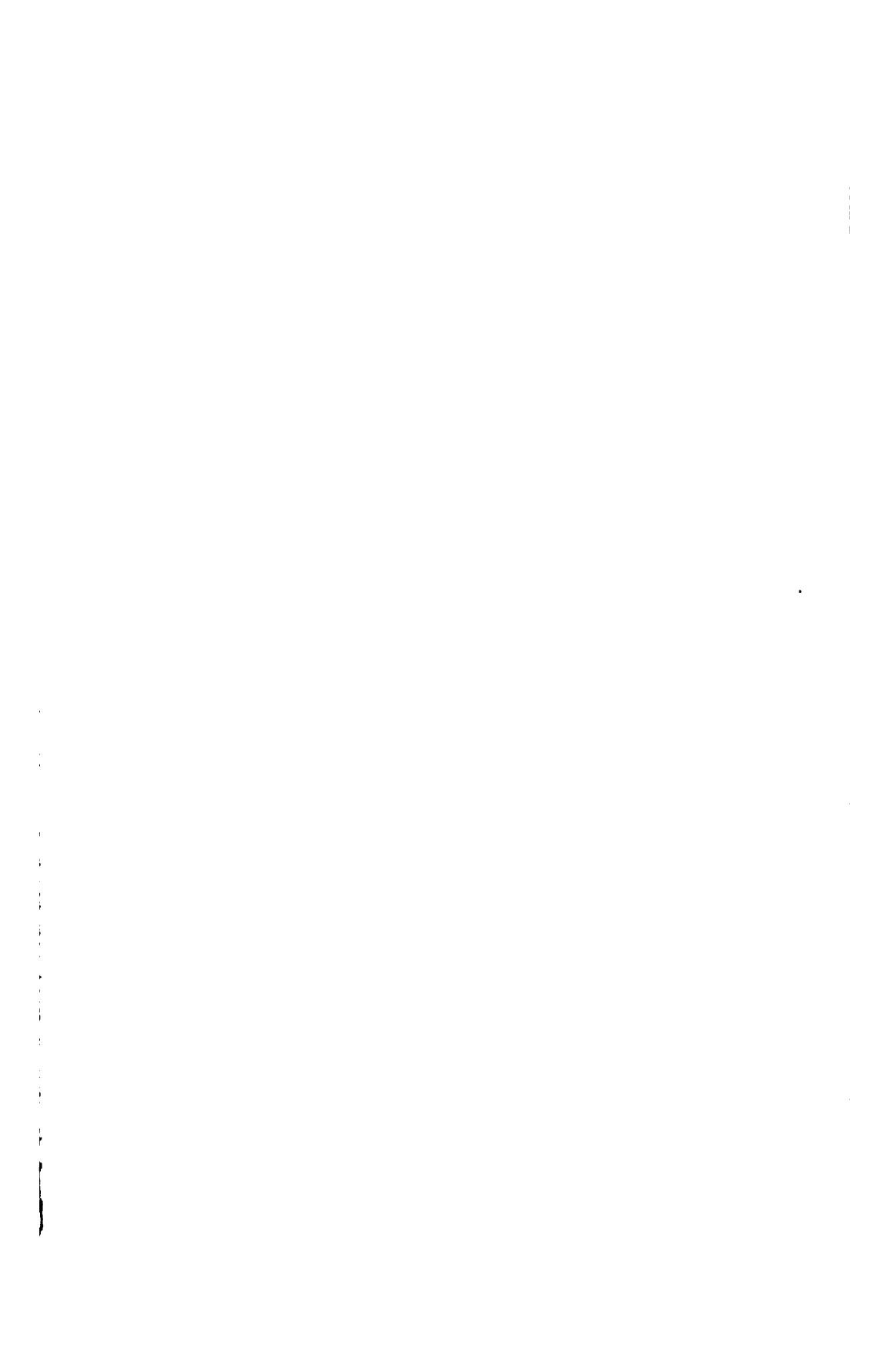
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rivals in the Church, than when describing his dealings with his friend and patron La Salle.

The Seminary of Quebec, which was founded by Bishop Laval as a branch of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris, came to the aid of the Jesuits, and in 1699 the Rev. Francis J. de Montigny, Vicar General of Quebec, and Antoine Davion visited the Mississippi and decided to take over the Tamaroas Mission, which had been founded by the Jesuit, Pinet. The Illinois were gradually driven to the Mississippi, and they and the Miamis absorbed into the Louisiana Mission; but as the valley became peopled with French, the friendly contact between whites and reds became more baneful than the warlike conflict between the native races, and therefore, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the once powerful tribe of the Illinois could not raise three hundred fighting men. The Jesuit Order was suppressed in Louisiana in 1762, and the French population increasing, the missionary priests of the Quebec Seminary became *curés* of the French parishes. But no less than three hundred and twenty members of the Society of Jesus had laboured in the mission field of New France.¹ Looking at results and viewed as a whole, their apostolic efforts would seem to have begun and ended in high hope, heroic deeds, and failure.

¹ The Rev. Arthur Jons's list in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxxi.





CHAPTER XVII

THE ATTITUDE OF NEW ENGLAND TOWARDS THE INDIANS AND THE PURITAN MISSION

IN *The True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (published 1609) the religious motive is put prominently forward and there is no reason for doubting the sincerity claimed by the writer. But however religious may have been the aspirations of the promoters, the actions of the colonists were not in harmony with them. Once landed and face to face with the exigencies of life, the conversion of the natives occupied a very small share of their thoughts; for in 1623 some malcontent filed a complaint with the King, and one item was a comparison of the supposed sympathy of the first batch of colonists for the Indians with the indifference of the second organization; to which the Court answered on May 7, 1623:

"An Answere to the Petition delivered to the Magistrates by Alderman Johnson in the name of sundry Adventurers and Planters of Virginia and Sumer Island Plantation.

"The second Information by the Peticoners is, that under ye form of Govt. ther was aquyett entertaynement of the Savadge Indians by w^{ch} sundry of those Infidles and some of emynent note wer converted to Christian Religion; whereas of late there hath been a

Massacre and Hostilytie between the Natives and our Colony of Virginia."¹ The quotation need go no farther. It simply repeats the sad facts that in the South as in the North, in New England and New France, missionary work was stopped by war. Yet it cannot be claimed that missionary work among the Indians was popular in either the northern or southern branch of the Virginia Company. The missionary aims of these English settlers, before starting on their voyages of colonisation, were high; their actions when they came in contact with the real red man were the very reverse. The old pastor of the Pilgrims who remained in Holland, Mr. Robinson, wrote to his friends across the sea in the spirit which had actuated them ere they sailed. It was hard for him to realise the change of attitude or to make reasonable allowance for their inconsistency. He says:

"Concerning ye killing of those poor Indeans, of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any; besids, wher bloud is once begune to be shed, it is sel-dome stanched of a long time after. You will say they deserved it. I grant it; but upon what provocations and invitments by those heathenish Christians? Besids, you, being no magistrats over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessitie constrained to inflicte. Necessitie of this, espetially of killing so many (and many more, it seems, they would, if they could), I see not. Methinks on or tow principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule, The punishmente to a few, and ye fear to many.. Upon this occasion let me be bould to exhorte you seriously to consider of ye dispossition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am

¹ Records of the Virginia Company, p. 393.

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perswaded ye Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinaie course. But now if this be meerly from an humane spirite, ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting yt tenderness of ye life of man (made after Gods image) which is meete. It is also a thing more glorious in mens eyes, then pleasing in Gods, or conveniente for Christians, to be a terroure to poore barbarous people; and indeed I am afraid least, by these occasions, others should be drawne to affecte a kind of ruling course in the world." :

The good man's reference to Miles Standish, the hero of Longfellow's idyl, expresses doubtless a vague suspicion, which troubled many minds, as to the consistency of intrusting their protection to a man who, while humble and meek among them, "from a humane spirit" could hardly be enrolled among the saints. Courageous, prompt, and energetic, there was not a more useful member of the community than this original of many a later Indian fighter, but while possessing the rugged virtues of a brave, true man, he probably neglected the religious formalities of the early non-conformists.

Mr. Robinson wrote after Miles Standish's campaign against the Massachusetts,² who were supposed to be plotting the extermination of the whites, under instigation by Weston's reckless colonists. The Captain trapped four, including two chiefs, in one of their lodges, killed the four and three others, and carried in triumph the head of Chief Wittewamet to decorate the fort and stike terror into his tribe. It had the desired effect, but other results which followed may have been less capable of demonstration. Massa-

¹ Bradford, ii., p. 197-98.

² Drake, p. 22.

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soit had made a treaty with the Pilgrims the year of their landing, and had always been their friend; but as the Rev. William Hubbard, in his *Narrative* remarks—one might almost think ironically: “It is very remarkable that the Massasoit, how much soever he affected the English, was never in the last degree any ways well affected to the religion of the English, but would, in his last treaty with his neighbours at Plymouth, when they were with him, about purchasing some land at Swansey, have had them engage never to attempt to draw away any of his people from their old Pagan Superstition and Devilish Idolatry to the Christian Religion.” It is not surprising that he has not “affected to the religion of the English,” as preached by Miles Standish.

The Pilgrims and the Puritans were just. They never took an acre of land from the Indians without some compensation, however small, and in trade were honest. But there was no sympathy between them and the aborigines. Instead of being tenderly drawn, as lost sheep, into the fold of Christ, they were treated in the same manner as the people whom the Israelites found in possession of their Promised Land, for were not the medicine men sorcerers and all the Indians heathen?

They reasoned, that as God had intervened to protect them by slaughtering the aborigines, wholesale, by disease, why should not they engage in the same good work by other means?¹

But there was a leaven of real Christianity working in those days; for when some fanatics advocated the root-

¹ Interpreting God’s ways to man leads to strange conclusions, and sometimes to unanimity of opinion by thinkers of widely diverse schools. The biographer of Cardinal Manning commends the Almighty for carrying off Manning’s wife, while he was an Episcopal clergyman, that he might become a prince of the Roman Catholic Church. The presumptuousness of the Puritan and of the Papist are on a par.

ing out of the Indians "as being of the accursed race of Ham," the magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven declined, and appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts to join them in winning over the natives by justice and kindness. Massachusetts, to quote the record, "returned answer of our consent with them in all things propounded, only refused to undertake them of Aquiday or to have any treaty with them." Aquiday was Rhode Island, where Roger Williams's influence was paramount. The heathen might perish rather than that they should have intercourse with a heretic.

The *odium theologicum* was strong, and this intensified by the ineradicable racial dislike, and by traditional wrongs, done on both sides, brought about almost the complete extinction of the Indian races of the New England coast at the hands of the Saints. Leaving out of account the theological reasons for opposing and destroying the devil-worshippers and weighing the causes which led to hostility between the races, we see the same motives and passions operating then as operate now. When at last the Indians realised the risk of annihilation, they were overawed by firearms; nor was it until they themselves had secured the same weapon of offence and defence that in despair they strove to take their revenge. Even then the colonists ran no great risk of defeat. The Pequot War in 1637 was a massacre. King Philip's War against the colonists was undertaken too late to be waged with any reasonable hope of victory. Meanwhile what has happened to-day happened then. The Indians had sold their land. The whites cultivated it, and from it drove the game; or with their better appliances for the chase both by land and sea, they destroyed it. They had paid a nominal sum for deeds of vast tracts of country which to the Indians was worthless except as a game reserve.

The loss of both land and game, they soon came to appreciate, meant their extinction. Laws were made restraining their liberty, restricting their movements, forbidding the sale to them of firearms, and therefore prohibiting the possession of the only means of self-defence and of successful hunting. In despair they committed a crime, and were forced into an unequal war, which could end only in the death of the braves and the enslavement of their wives and children.

The Pilgrims were of the same race and possessed of the same instincts as our frontiersmen. They were exposed to the same risks as the men who invaded the West, but differed in this, that they were influenced by strong religious, distinctly God-fearing motives. Unfortunately their religious creed was often used to find justification for what their natural bias suggested. Their antipathies were the same as ours; and those race instincts which divide the members of the Anglo-Saxon race so irreparably from those they consider of inferior stock, were as strong in them as they are in their descendants. They did not express their instinctive distrust of the Indians in the same emphatic terms as our frontiersmen, but they attributed to divine interposition what our western men undertook to do for themselves—the extermination of the red man.

In our own West the story of the Indian's wrongs has been pathetic; and yet the result seemed inevitable. The white man has driven the savage from reservation to reservation, as long as the land ceded him was capable of cultivation. Not till he was restricted to territory into which the white man was not tempted to enter was he safe. To cite an example: The great Sioux reservation covered the rich lands of Dakota from the Missouri to the Black Hills. A few bands of Indian buffalo hunters occupied them. None of the fertile

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plain was cultivated. You might drive from St. Pierre to Rapid City over one hundred and fifty miles of the richest prairie of the North-west and not meet an Indian. It was unreasonable that from this wonderful prairie, though reserved by right to them, the white farmer should be excluded. In time the Indians would have learned to become farmers and that time would have been curtailed by the destruction of the buffalo. But gold was found in the Black Hills. Then all the military force of the United States could not have resisted the rush of prospectors and miners into the reservation. Only on the Indian Territory was he safe, and there he felt himself a prisoner. Elsewhere the Indian had to move on; bow to the inevitable, or die. He accepted the former alternative and is gradually adjusting himself slowly to the altered conditions. But the conflict between the Pilgrims and the red man occurred nearly four hundred years ago. The humanitarians were few. There was no Indian Protective Association and no territory still farther west into which the hunted Indians of Algonquin stock could flee without falling into the clutches of the treacherous Iroquois. There was for him no alternative but to fight and be killed fighting. A few Christians objected, and applied to the Indians the Master's command to his disciples: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." But the bulk of the colonists paid no more heed to the Master's behest than as a community we do to-day. Yet it is strange that such a conspicuous group of pious elders and conscientious laymen were so deeply interested in political controversy, theological disputes, and money-making that what should have impressed them as a supreme duty received at first no attention, and never appealed strongly to the conscience of the Congregational Church as a body.

The same anomaly exists to-day. We have on the continent several hundred thousand of avowed pagan Indians, and yet they excite less proselytising zeal than a few South Sea Islanders.

Bradford in his History of the Plymouth Colony from its foundation in 1620 to 1646 does not describe any active measures to Christianise the Indians, and Winthrop in his Diary is silent on the same subject, till he refers to John Eliot's successful efforts as a missionary in 1646. Laws were passed, but little or nothing was done. The elders were busy in organising their system of church government and controlling their congregations. The Recollets and the Jesuits came out to Canada as missionaries to the Indians. There were no clergymen sent to the English colonies with those express functions till the third Society for the Propagation of the Gospel undertook the conversion of the Iroquois in the eighteenth century.

The missionary efforts of the New England Church were confined to the period between the expulsion of Roger Williams and his followers from the Bay and the close of King Philip's War. In that campaign the praying Indians and their pagan kinsfolk were well nigh exterminated, and the progress of the Gospel among the remnant that survived was checked. It was elsewhere and everywhere the same. War and the gospel of peace could not be reconciled. There is an irreconcilable contradiction between the teaching of Christ and the slaughter, disease, and destruction of the weak which always accompany and follow in the wake of an invading army, whether it be composed of miners, merchants, or soldiers. The humane intentions of the Government are always frustrated by the selfish interests of commerce. The rapid advance which science has enabled the industrial forces to make, crushes the life

out of all who resist. What chance has the red man to keep pace with it? The only Indians on the continent who have survived and probably multiplied so as to become a dominant race by attaining a measure of civilisation, are those of Mexico. Despite the cruelty of early Spanish colonial rule, but thanks to the sluggishness of later Spanish progress, the native Indians of Mexico were permitted to develop slowly along natural lines, under the missionary influences of the Roman Catholic Church. There was little intertribal war; for once conquered, the Indian tribes of Mexico were obliged to practise crudely some of the arts of peace. In Canada the rush of progress and of population has been as yet slow, and the humane measures of the Government have been more efficacious in protecting the red man.

But in contrast to the thinly disguised hatred, and therefore distrust and suspicion, of the red man by almost the entire New England population,—not only by the ignorant masses but by the civil rulers, magistrates, deputies, and elders,—there stand out in the brightest light the efforts of Roger Williams, John Eliot, John Cotton, the Mayhews, and a few others, who alone among the colonists appreciated their duty to the Indians and were not carried away by the prevalent prejudice against the red man. So strong was this that Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* does not even mention Dr. John Eliot's labours among the Indians, though he devotes pages to trying to clear his reputation from the taints of Antinomianism; nor among the divines "by whose evangelical ministry the Church of New England has been illuminated" does he include John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians.

The result of the voluntary efforts of these men was that organised measures were taken in England to

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secure some support for the New England missions. Old England subscribed the funds: New England did the work.

In 1649 Governor Winslow, who was in England as agent of the colonies, was active in collecting subscriptions towards a fund for evangelising the Indians and securing the passage through Parliament of an act creating a corporation called the Society for Promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New England. The act was passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, but a new charter under Commissioners was granted the corporation on the Restoration. Its title was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America. Lord Chancellor Hyde used his influence in its favour. Hon. Robert Boyle was the first Governor and Clarendon's was the first name on the list of incorporators. It did not therefore look to Puritans alone for pecuniary support, but the work in the field of New England was done by men, like Eliot, who had forsaken the mother church and enlisted in the Puritan ranks. In fact the pastoral field of New England must have been occupied almost exclusively by deprived clergymen of the Church of England, as Neil names seventy-seven immigrant clergymen who were deprived of the English benefices by reason of non-conformity. The society therefore used this excellent material in New England. The revenue derived, through this corporation, for the support of the missionaries, who numbered from twelve to sixteen during the active period of the society in New England, and for maintaining the Indian schools, seldom exceeded £600 a year.¹

The Puritans carried their logical methods into their missionary work. Eliot's *Logic Primer* was com-

¹ Hawkins's *Missions*, p. 10.

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posed and translated into the Massachusetts dialect for the instruction of his native scholars; and Roger Williams's Indian books appeal rather to the reason than the feelings of his converts. This was and is in direct contrast to the methods of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who appealed, first and last, to the emotions and senses of their hearers.

But the Jesuits attempted, as did John Eliot and the New England missionaries, to wean the Indians from their roving life, induce them to settle in organised communities, and engage in agriculture. The Jesuits succeeded in attracting a few to their missions, but they were almost exclusively composed of Indians who fled thither for protection.

On the contrary, Eliot and the missionaries of New England were more successful than their Jesuit fellow-labourers to the north in civilising the natives. In fact, they commenced their labours as civilisers. Before acting, however, the Protestants of the Bay, as was their wont, did a lot of thinking. Dunster of Harvard argued that the Indians must be taught in their own language. Thomas Lechford regretted that "there hath been and is much neglect of endeavour to teach, civilise and convert the Indians." Robert Baylie, a Presbyterian, charged the Independents with being "Of all that ever crossed the American seas the most neglectful of the work of conversion." In reply to such criticism one of the elders pleaded, in an interesting tract on the first missionary efforts, *The Day Breaking*: "We are upbraided by some of our countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of the natives. Such men have surely more spleen than judgment, and know not the vast distances of the natives from common civility, almost humanity itself, and tis as if they should reproach us for not making the windes to blow

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when we lift our selves; it must certainly be a spirit of life from God (not in man's power) which must put flesh and sinewes into these dry bones; if we would force them to baptisme (as the Spaniards do about Casco, Peru, and Mexico, having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirtes to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time into the name of Churches: but we have not learnt as yet the art of coyning Christians, or putting Christ's name and Image upon copper mettle. Although I think we have much cause to bee troubled that we have not endeavoured more than wee have done, there conversion and peace with God, who enjoy the mercy and peace of God in their land. Three things have made us thinke (as they once did of building the Temple) it is not yet time for God to work. 1st. Because till the Jewes come in there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people as they think from some Apocolypticall places. 2nd. That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extreme ad extreum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extremely degenerate, must be brought to some civillity before religion can prosper, or the word take place. 3rd. Because we want miraculous and extraordinary gifts, without which no conversion can be expected amongst these, but methinks now that it is with the Indians as it is with our New English ground when we first came over; there was scarce any man that could believe that English grain would grow or that the plow could do any good, in this woody and rocky soile . . . so wee have thought of our Indien people, and therefore have been discouraged, to put plow to such dry and rockey ground, but God having begun thus with some few, it may bee they are better soil for the Gospel

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than we can think. I confess I think no great good will bee done till they bee more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few, and awaken others by degrees."

Strange to say, these excuses for having neglected their duty are a supplement to a tract describing how wonderfully receptive the savage mind is of theological subtleties (*The Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England*, 1647).¹

John Eliot, well named the apostle to the New England Indians (for though others laboured as assiduously as he, none combined, as did he, the double function of a labourer and writer) came from Old England to New England in 1631, and was ordained teacher of the Roxbury church in the following year. For fifty-seven years, till his death in 1690, he fulfilled the duties of

¹ Father Druillettes, a Jesuit, was sent to the New England Confederacy on a political mission. His narrative leaves a very different impression of New England social life than we gather from their official acts.

Father Druillettes says: "I left [Plymouth] on the 24th [Dec. 1648], and returned to Boston by land with the son of a nephew of [redacted] who paid all expenses of the journey. I arrived at Rohgbray [Roxbury] where the minister called Mr. Heliot [Eliot], who was teaching some Indians, received me as his guest, for the night had overtaken me. He treated me with respect and affection, and prayed me to pass the winter with him.

"On the following day [the 29th] I reached Boston and was entertained by Major General Guibin [Gibbons] . . .

"The last day of the month I returned to Rosquebray [Roxbury] in order to pay my adieus to Gov. Dudley . . . [In returning he took ship to Quebec.]

"The 9th of the month [January], owing to bad weather, we put into Merbletz [Marblehead]. The minister, William Walter, received me with great affection. In his company I went to Salem to speak to Mr. Endicott, who speaks and understands the French language perfectly, who is Friendly to the French nation, and wishes his children to be of the same mind. As I had no money he paid my expenses and the cost of my meals at the magistrate's table, who for eight days held court."

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his pastoral office and took charge of the Indian colony at Natick. Eliot himself, as a preparation for his missionary work, studied the language of the Massachusetts and by 1646 had acquired sufficient proficiency in it to preach his first sermon in Waubon's wigwam at Watertown in their own tongue. A movement was set on foot and an effort made to purchase land, on which all the Indians could "live in an orderly way amongst us," or actually in neighbourly contact with the colonists. The policy was carried out in the town of Natick, in settlements near Concord, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, and elsewhere.

It promised to meet with great success. The Indians seemed to be more amenable to education and the adoption of European habits than those of the St. Lawrence. Land was secured, and one of the first acts towards establishing civil government was the institution of courts of justice, in which the sachems were intrusted with the trial of civil and criminal offences. And it was determined that¹ "all fines that may be imposed upon any Indian in any of the said courts shall go and be bestowed towards the building of some meeting house or education of their poorer children in learning or other publicke use."

This was in harmony with the action taken in 1636, when the General Court of Plymouth provided for the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians, and for constituting, with the concurrence of the chiefs, courts to punish misdemeanours. Also with that of the General Court of Massachusetts when it took action in 1664. Its avowed object was "to take care that the Indians residing in the several shires shall be civilized" as well as "instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."

From the first it was taken for granted that not only

¹ Trumbull, p. 27.

the habits of civil life, practised by the English, would be adopted by the Indians, but that the intricate and gloomy code of theological doctrine in which the Puritans revelled, would be understood; and that the rigid system of morals which they endeavoured to enforce would be obeyed. It is surprising that any success along such lines attended their efforts, and yet it is undeniable that Roger Williams, Eliot, the Mayhews, Bourne, and Tupper, Mr. Samuel Treat, and other lay and clerical missionaries, did create communities of praying Indians who probably attained to a higher degree of civilisation than any groups of the Jesuit converts, except perhaps the Caughnawagha colony, or the remnant of the Huron nation in Lorette.

Roger Williams's methods of missionary work would have been along the same lines as Eliot's had he devoted himself to it; for after his banishment from the Bay and Plymouth, he commenced his missionary work among the Narragansetts by spending "fourteen months among them in their smoky holes"; but his after-life was so divided between politics and religious controversy that he can hardly be classed as a missionary. As early as 1643 he printed in London *The Key into the Language of America*, which excited interest in the aborigines across the water. But if he did not subsequently engage actively and personally in efforts to convert the natives, he remained their defender and friend; and under his influence, probably as early as 1641, two laymen of wealth, Mr. Bourne and Mr. Tupper, who bought land of the Indians, began their endeavour to civilise and Christianise them in Sandwich and on the Cape. And three years before Eliot preached his first Indian sermon, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., began his labours among the Indians on Martha's

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Vineyard, a labour which was prosecuted by the father after his son's untimely death by shipwreck on his way to England to plead for help, and by his grandson and great-grandson afterwards.

According to the report made by Mr. Gookin by order of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1674, there were in the colony of Massachusetts fourteen villages of praying Indians, numbering 1100¹ and Mr. Eliot had organised two churches. In the Plymouth Colony there were 1439 praying Indians,² including 462 under Mr. Bourne at Sandwich and the Cape, 585 under Mr. John Cotton, and the balance scattered. On the islands of the Martha's Vineyard group Mr. Gookin says there were ten Indian preachers and six meetings on the Lord's Day in the village, and in Nantucket 300 attended. In all Mr. Mayhew estimated 1500 on the Vineyard and Chappaquidgick, and 300 on Nantucket.

The Puritans were as strict in applying to the Indians as to the whites their rules governing admission to church membership; and therefore, though there were some 4000 professing Christians, there were only two churches in Massachusetts, three on the Vineyard, two on Nantucket, and three or four in Plymouth, or ten or eleven in all. The greatest success was attained about 1670—and hopes were highest—when they were frustrated by King Philip's War, which embittered public feeling against the Indians more keenly in Massachusetts than in the Plymouth Colony or Rhode Island. The missionaries did their best to allay the distrust created against their converts, in most of whom the racial instinct was stronger than attachment to the new

¹ Published in vol. i., Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 195 of Gookin's Report.

² Page 199.

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creed and its teachers and who therefore joined the renegades.¹

So unanimously did the Indians, pagan and Christian, join the warriors, that the most educated left their employment as well as the most ignorant. For instance, Eliot writes to Robert Boyle, the great patron and supporter of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen: "We have but one man, viz., the Indian Printer, who is able to compose the sheets and correct the Press with understanding." He was an educated Indian, who had been an apprentice of Green, when printing the first edition of Eliot's Bible. Nevertheless, he joined his fellow-tribesmen under Philip, fought against the colonists, but returned to his old master and his trade under the proclamation of amnesty.²

When the war closed some few, like the Indian type-setter, were forgiven; others were executed as traitors and accomplices of Philip, and not a few were murdered at the hands of the whites out of revenge for the loss of relatives or comrades. The General Court finally collected the survivors (about five hundred) and removed them to the islands in Boston Harbour. When it was safe for the remnant to return to their former villages the communities were found to have dwindled from fourteen to four, and through despair and desertion even the five hundred had shrunk to two hundred and five before the end of the century.

¹ Josselyn says (*The Converted Indians*, p. 115) of the Indians: "They are in a way to be civilized and converted to Christianity; there being three churches of Indians gathered together by the pains of Mr. John Eliot and his sons, who preaches to them in their native language, and hath rendered the Bible in their language for the benefit of the Indians. These go clothed like the English, live in framed houses, have stocks of corn and cattle about them. Some of the same have been brought up scholars in Harvard College. I was told there were but two fellows in the college, and amongst them was an Indian."

² Trumbull, p. 37.

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Except Connecticut the colony of Massachusetts suffered most in King Philip's War, and it was only in Massachusetts that the hatred of the Indian found vent in extreme measures of retribution. In 1698 a report was transmitted to the Society for Promoting the Gospel among the Indians by the Rev. Grendal Hawson and the Rev. Samuel Danforth, from which one gathers that there were in Plymouth Colony 1290; on the islands, 1518; in Massachusetts, only 205, or approximately 3000 in all.

The revenue for the support of the Mission was small, judged by modern standards, but was to a certain extent independent of voluntary contributions. England supplied the small balance required over and above the revenues drawn from some land rentals. The report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, issued in 1661, shows that the corporation disbursed £728.8.6, as follows: For printing the Bible £237.5; for Mr. Eliot's salary £50.; for Mr. Mayhew's salary £30.; for Mr. Bowen's salary £25.; the balance for educational purposes. The Society owned land yielding a revenue of £500. to £600. a year.

Eliot acknowledges special subscriptions from Mr. Boyle, at one time £400. and at another £460., towards the translation and printing of the Indian Bible. And Sir Liskyne Jenkyns founded two fellowships in Jesus College, Oxford, the holders of which were to serve, when called upon, as naval chaplains or colonial missionaries.

The expenditure on missionary work in Canada came out of the general revenues of the Society of Jesus, from the ample funds of the Sulpicians, who seem, nevertheless, to have been less active than other ecclesiastical workers in that field; and from the resources of the Seminary of Quebec. The salaries of the priests were small, but the incidental expenses must have been considerable.

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One striking contrast is made evident by the above items of accounts. The expenditure in New England on literature for the Indians was large. There was no money devoted to that purpose in Canada. From the Cambridge press there issued between 1653 and 1720 thirty-seven books in Indian dialect for the education or spiritual enlightenment of the Indian. As already remarked, there was no printing press in New France. And there exists no printed book of Roman Catholic devotion in an Indian language which was circulated among the Indians in the seventeenth century.

The catalogue of this theological Indian literature is bewildering to us, and the contents of the books must have been still more bewildering to the savage mind. Nevertheless, considering the small number of Indians on the Bay, on the islands, and shores of the Sound, compared with those who came under Jesuit influence, a larger proportion would seem to have been impressed by the Puritan methods than by those of the Black Robes.¹

¹Very few copies exist of this extensive literature, though one thousand copies were printed of most of the books. The following is a partial list of this Indian literature: The first book printed at Cambridge, Mass., in 1653, was Eliot's *Catechism*. Eliot, as soon as he was sufficiently acquainted with the Massachusetts dialect, commenced translating the Scriptures. The books of Genesis and Matthew appeared in 1655, and *The Psalms in Metre* in 1658 ("The Singing Songs of David"). Mr. Pierson in the same year published *Some Helps for the Indian, Showing them how to Improve their Natural Reason to know the True God, and the True Christian Religion*.

By 1661 Eliot had sent to press the whole of the New Testament translated into Indian, and in 1663 the whole Bible was published in Cambridge.

But Eliot did not confine himself to translations of the Scriptures. He endeavoured to saturate the Indian mind with Puritan theology, and therefore translated Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, Bagley's *Practice of Piety*, Shepard's *The Sincere Convert, The Man who Stands Turned About*.

Eliot died in 1690, but translations of works of devotion and theology continued to be printed. *Spiritual Milk for Babes drawn from the*

Pains would not have been taken to translate these books, so unpalatable, one would suppose, to Indian appetites, if they had not been read. There is proof that some portions of the Bible especially were congenial reading. The few remaining copies of the Bible show marks of greatest use in Genesis, the Psalms, and Isaiah. Mr. Trumbull's remarks on the applicability of Indian languages and the habits of the Indian to the conveyance and acceptance of Biblical ideas are worth quoting:

"For the Old Testament especially—for all that relates to the history of peoples under patriarchal government, of nomadic life, separated in tribes, dwellers in tents; accustomed to receive truth by symbols and types, veiled by apolagues or parables, or hid in riddles; people who worshipped in song and dance, and offered the first fruits of the earth and the choicest morsels of their meats, in thanksgiving or as a propitiation; who sought counsel of their prophets and priests, or in the assembly of the elders; who gathered by tribes to celebrate, in lodges constructed of green boughs, their solemn feasts; who looked for revelations of the will of the Great Spirit by signs and tokens, in dreams, and from soothsayers—who heard his voice in the thunder, and felt his anger in flood or tempest, in drought or famine, or devouring fire—in short, for the whole Old Testament story—the language of the Indians offered a medium of translation certainly not inferior to the English or to any language of modern

Breasts of both Testaments and Maria Mather's Greatest Sinners called and encouraged to come to Christ were published in 1691 and 1698.

Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Tracts, and Sermons were printed and circulated, as well as a Grammar. An Indian Primer was printed after the model of those of that day—"The first book by which Children may know truly to read the Indian Language," and *The Logic Primer, or, Some Logical Notions to initiate the Indian in the knowledge of the rule of reason, expressly for the use of such as are teachers among them.*

THE
HOLY BIBLE:
CONTAINING THE
OLD TESTAMENT
AND THE NEW.

Translated into the
INDIAN LANGUAGE,

AND

Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies,
in NEW-ENGLAND,

At the Charge, and with the Consent of the
CORPORATION IN ENGLAND
For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians
in New-England.

C A M B R I D G E:

Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson.

M D C L X I I I .

Title-page of the Eliot Indian Bible, 1663.

 [REDACTED]

Europe. Moreover, considering the nicety of the Indian grammatical apparatus, the contrivances for imparting by slight changes of form an almost endless variety of meanings to verb or noun, discriminating with infallible accuracy the slightest differences of denotation—it may well be questioned whether, even for the expression of spiritual ideas, these languages can, by comparison with the greater number of those into which the Bible has been successfully translated, justly be regarded as deficient."

The effect of the preaching, the teaching, and the enforcement of law upon the praying Indian it is difficult at this distance of time to measure. It was exaggerated by some and underestimated by others. Notable instances of real conversion were described in glowing terms by Puritans as well as Jesuits. But the essential ferocity of the St. Lawrence Indian was hardly concealed under a very thin varnish of Christianity, for the true nature of the savage was exposed as soon as he was allowed to give vent to his inherited instincts for war. The Puritan missionaries really expressed their conviction of the superficiality of the reformation in most of their converts by allowing so few churches to be organized in proportion to the large number of communities. The illusion which very naturally possessed the early enthusiasts as to the permanent and radical effect of their Christian teaching, whether impressed on their disciples through symbols and ceremonies, or by logic and doctrine, has been dissipated by three centuries of experience. But it is unfair to attribute the manifest romancing of priests and elders to deliberate falsehood. They could not have been so enthusiastic unless they yielded somewhat to the imagination. There may also have been some slight deception on the part of their converts.

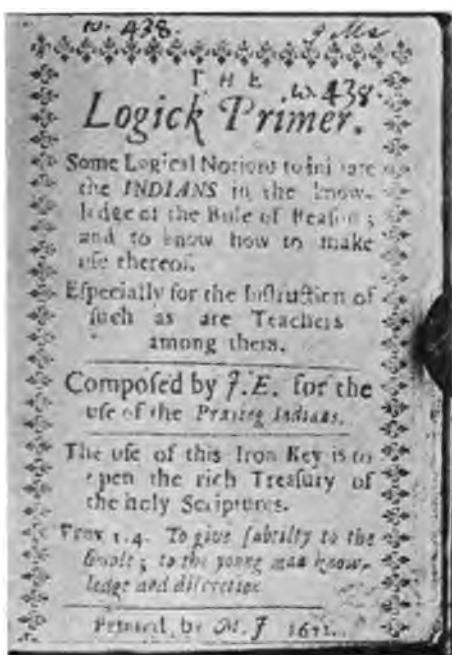
The agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel published periodical reports, with extracts from letters of Eliot and the missionaries, and even "epitomes," as Eliot calls them, of sermons preached by the Indian ministers to the Indian congregations; but they evidently lost the native flavour in the translating, and are of little value.

In the first Society report, for 1652, is a letter from Eliot. While he does not minimise his own labours, he gives some insight into the wise methods which were adopted in laying out the town of Natick, and he commends the aptitude of the Indians as carpenters and labourers.

The same report contains the account by Rev. Mr. John Wilson of Boston of a visit to Natick, when Eliot was conducting a service. Governor Endicott and a company of Bostonese were also present. Conciseness was not a quality of Puritan literature or brevity of Puritan sermons; but the Indians were well accustomed to interminable debates and long orations, and therefore these protracted functions may not have been as unattractive as we might imagine.¹

¹When Natick was created an Indian settlement, the following curious code of rule was accepted as its organic law, which like the Mosaic code combined ritualistic ordinances and moral regulations as of equal obligation:

"I. If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings. II. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty shillings. III. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice to be severely punished. IV. Every young man, if not another's servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams. V. If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings. VI. If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay two shillings. VII. All men that wear long locks shall pay five shillings. VIII. If any shall kill their lice between their teeth, they shall pay five shillings" (Drake, p. 113).



Title-page of Eliot's Logic Primer.



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The third reconstruction of the Protestant Missionary Society as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was made by a charter granted by William and Mary on June 16th in the thirteenth year of their reign. It was avowedly under the control of the Church of England: the Archbishop of Canterbury and York and most of the bishops head the list of incorporators; and the missionaries sent out

The justice meted out by the Indian judge to whom was intrusted the administration of their simple laws was probably less at fault than the wording of the sentence.

Drake, in his *Book of the Indians*, p. 115, says of Wauban that:

"Before we pass to notice other towns in Plimouth colony, we will give an account of some of the most noted of the praying Indians.

"*Wauban* we have several times introduced, and will now close our account of him. He is supposed to have been originally of Concord; but, at the time Mr. Eliot began his labors, he resided at Nonantum, since Newton. At Natik, or Natick, he was one of the most efficient officers until his death.

"When a kind of civil community was established at Natick, *Wauban* was made a ruler of fifty, and subsequently a justice of the peace. The following is said to be a copy of a warrant which he issued against some of the transgressors:

"*You, you big constable, quick you catch um Jeremiah Offscow strong you hold um, safe you bring um, afore me, Waban, justice peace.*"

"A young justice asked Wauban what he would do when Indians got drunk and quarrelled; he replied: '*Tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, and whip um fendant, and whip um witness*'" (Drake, p. 115-116).

The translations in the Society's reports of Indian conversations and sermons lose flavour in the process. The following probably repeats the original:

"Again, he baptized with fire, what is that? I answer, not outward fire, but spiritual, and it is a similitude, thus: what will fire doe? I answer, you all know what fire will do: for when you Tobacco-pipes are filthy, foule, stinking, unfit for your use, you cast them into the fire, and that doth not burn them up, but burneth up all their filth, and maketh them clean and sweet, and fit for your use. So our hearts are filthy, and unfit for God's use, but cast our hearts into the word, for there the Spirit is, and then the Spirit of God will burn out all our filth and sin, and make us sweet, and fit for the Lord's use" Sabin's reprint of "A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians," p. 17.

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by the Society were always members of that community. One of the Society's fields of activity was among the Iroquois. In view of the undeniable effect of French missionaries on the Five Nations, it is surprising that, as a matter of policy no effort should have been made by the colonial government of New York to civilise this splendid body of fighting men, and that the Church of England should have been so indifferent to their spiritual welfare.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO THE IROQUOIS, AND THE FATE OF THE FIVE NATIONS

IT was not until 1700 that Lord Bellamont appealed to the Lords of Trade and Plantation for "ministers of the Church of England to instruct the Five Nations of Indians and to prevent their being imposed upon by French priests and Jesuits." On the same date Robert Livingstone applied to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for six clergymen and twelve teachers. But four years elapsed before the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor arrived alone to do the arduous work. He returned discouraged in three years. In 1709 four of the Iroquois chiefs went to England on a political mission and prayed for the despatch of missionaries and teachers. This request was submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He transmitted it to the Society, and after three years spent in circumlocutionary manoeuvres, the Rev. William Andrews reached Albany. The deliberate movement of these missionary efforts is as unlike the breathless energy and zeal of the Jesuits as are the disheartening reports made by the Rev. Mr. Andrews to the exuberantly enthusiastic *Relations* of the followers of St. Ignatius. They may have been truer to facts, but were not the utterances of a man determined to overcome all obstacles interposed by the savage aspect of both men and nature. "The

men," he says, "are slothful and lazy enough—the women laborious, true servants of their husbands. . . . There is no manner of pleasure to be preferred by living here, but only the hope of doing some good among these poor, dark, ignorant creatures." It took him three years to induce twenty children to attend school, but the motive was not instruction but the food he distributed. He depicts the character of the Indian in the darkest terms: "There is no bad Indian, for they, having no laws among them, make no more to kill a man, if they have opportunity, to get a coat or a shirt, than to kill a dog and eat him when they have done it, for it is common among most of the Indians not only to eat dogs, horses, or any carrion in the world, but man's flesh. . . . Their lives are generally such as leave little or no room for hope of ever making them any better than they are—heathen. Heathen they are and heathen they will still be. There are a few—perhaps about fourteen or fifteen—whose lives are more regular than the rest. . . . They are a sordid, mercenary, beggarly people, having but little sense of religious honour or goodness among them, living generally filthy, bestial lives," and though he had been at the death bed of several of them, he did not "remember to have seen any one of them that he could think penitent." He begged to be relieved, and, strange to say, the Society hesitated to recognise his incompetency and get rid of him.

A very different man was the Rev. Mr. Barclay, who in 1740 was stationed at Albany and extended his labour into the Mohawk territory and started two schools in the two Mohawk towns, conducted by Mohawk teachers. But missionary work from 1745 till the date of the conquest of Canada was interrupted by the sanguinary raids of the French Indians on the

Western cantons, which so aggravated the temper of the Mohawks and the Oneidas that, when the final struggle came, they almost immolated themselves in crushing their enemies. The Church of England, however, continued its endeavours to elevate the condition of the Mohawks and Oneidas, but did not attempt to push their feeble ecclesiastical forces into the Western cantons.

In the troublous period preceding the conquest of Canada, the Rev. John Ogilive, a graduate of Yale, laboured among the western tribes as the Society's missionary, and when the war broke out he attended the royal American regiment upon the expedition to Niagara. During this campaign he "met Indians of all the six nations who have been instructed by the priests of Canada and appear zealous Roman Catholics," and he reflects on the "coldness and shameful indifference of the Protestants."¹

The conquest of Canada was the prelude to the American Revolution. It extinguished the Jesuit missions to the Iroquois and left the field open to the English evangelists; but their zeal was torpid, if we may judge from the interesting memorial written in 1771 by the Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant minister of Trinity Church, and transmitted to Lord Hillsborough through Governor Tryon. Mr. Inglis had been the guest of Sir William Johnson and probably he repeats in the sage advice he gives Sir William Johnson's views. He recommends schools for technical teaching, and even the establishment of an institution of high learning, but he advocates its erection in the heart of the Confederacy, for "it is a mistaken notion that seminaries at a distance from the Indians and only among the Christians are fittest for the education of Indian youths,"

¹ *Missions of the Church of England*, by Ernest Hawkins, p. 288.

for "when they return to their people they generally run into greater excesses for their former restraints." "Education at a desk," he says, "serves to raise their jealousy, and the transition is too great and too sudden from their former mode of life, to that which they must hereafter enter upon. Any change in the manner of a savage people who have a high sense of liberty — like the Iroquois — should be gradually effected. It should in some measure be the result of their own choice and judgment." All of which advice coincides with our own experience in educating the Indian.

He found that the Mohawks, owing to their incessant raids on the French and their allies, and their heavy losses during the conquest of Canada, numbered only 420, and the Oneidas numbered only 600. The few Mohawks, owing to their vicinity to the English settlements, had virtually abandoned paganism and were instructed in Christianity by a clergyman and two schoolmasters, supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Oneidas seemed to be spiritually better cared for than any of the tribes, as the six hundred were evidently perplexed by having to choose between a Jesuit, a dissenting minister, and the Society's missionary. He adds: "Next to the Oneidas are the Onondagas, their number is 800; the Cayugas, amounting to 1040, are forty miles south-west of the Onondagas. The Senekas number 4000, dispersed in several villages, and the Tuscaroras amount to 1000. Very few of the four tribes last mentioned have any impressions of Christianity." At the close of the Seven Years' War, therefore, the magnificent Mohawk tribe had been almost exterminated, the Oneidas terribly reduced, and the total number of tribesmen of the Five Nations reduced to 6800 souls, of

whom over 5000 belonged to the two western members, who were neglected by the Church.

He also comments on the greater missionary zeal of the French than of the English, and he adds: "The French government gave all possible encouragement and assistance to their missionaries in converting the savages. To this and the zeal of these missionaries, who are generally men of ability, must be attributed the great success they have had in making converts."¹

A century and a half has passed since these stirring events were enacted. The white population of North America has become a world power. What of the red man? A few Indians survive in Maine, and the Indian population of the eastern and middle provinces of Canada is comparatively numerous, perhaps as numerous as it ever was; but except the descendants of the Iroquois on the fertile reservation in Ontario and Quebec, none of the aborigines in Eastern Canada are really rising in the scale of civilisation.

The fate of the Confederacy was that of all the Indian tribes who have been forced to meet disciplined troops on the battle-field. The Iroquois had fought on the British side during the Revolution, and there was therefore justification for driving them from the Mohawk Valley. In a campaign in 1779 they were defeated by General Sullivan and their canton ruthlessly devastated. The American loss was heavy, but the Confederacy

¹ Edward Randolph (*Randolph Correspondence*, Prince Society Publications, vol. vi., p. 242), the British Collector of Revenue in the end of the century, who, like all auditors, was officially prone to suspicion, reported that the funds transmitted to the Colonies for the evangelisation of the Indians were misappropriated, and that the "natives are mightily inclined to the Romish Religion." He therefore suggests that "the Government send over some priests who will secure trade and at the same time save souls." The charges were not warranted, but the results did not differ widely from his statements.

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was extinguished, and most of the tribesmen took refuge in Canada. They were ceded 694,910 acres on the Ouse or Grand River in 1784 by Governor Haldimand,¹ but most of this has been surrendered.

The last report of the Department of Indian Affairs,² distributes the Iroquois in Ontario and Quebec as follows:

Bay of Quinte Reservation (Mohawks),	1,343
Grand River (members of all tribes),	4,466
In Quebec, on the three old Roman Catholic missions, the population is of somewhat mixed breed. As reported, it is for:	
Lake of the Two Mountains,	436
Caughnawaga,	2,199
St. Regis,	1,554
	<hr/>
Total	9,998
The Hurons of Lorette number only	488

All are Christians except some 899 pagans on the Grand River Reserve. The census of the Indian population of Quebec enumerates twenty-two Adventists as pagans.

All the Mohawks fled to Canada after Sullivan's victory, but there are some 5280 reputed Iroquois on seven reservations in the United States. If these figures for Canada and the States are correct, there are, excluding the Iroquois in the old Catholic missions, 11,089 descendants of the 6800 enumerated by Inglis at the close of the Seven Years' War. Allowing for the admixture of members of Algonquin stock with that of the pure Iroquois, the figures show that at any rate

¹ *Report of the Special Commissioners on Indian Affairs in Canada, 1858*, and *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 1911*.

² Ottawa, 1911.

racial extinction does not necessarily follow the weakening of tribal relations and inherited habits, when a nation of intelligent Indians is afforded fair opportunities and protection while emerging from the savage to the civilised state.

Mr. Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, shows in his report the following steady growth in Iroquois population on the Ontario Reserve:

1880	—	3,204
1885	—	3,216
1890	—	3,425
1895	—	3,625
1900	—	3,988
1905	—	4,267
1910	—	4,402

Mr. Pedley uses the word *recuperative* to express the recoil which follows the period of *exhaustion* due to the change of life and conditions incident to the first effects of civilisation.

The census statistics of the Indian population in 1907 of the four older Canadian provinces are as follows:

	1861	1871	1901	
New Brunswick.....	1,403	1,309	Of these, two are pagan.
Nova Scotia.....	1,666	1,542	Of these, two are pagan.
Ontario.....	7,841	12,978	19,671 Of these 3,111 are pagan.
Quebec.....	4,876	6,988	9,166 Of these, five are pagan.
		23,035	31,688	

The pagan Indians of the whole of the Dominion are:

British Columbia.....	5,139
Manitoba.....	1,234
New Brunswick.....	2
Nova Scotia.....	2
Ontario.....	3,111
Quebec.....	5

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Alberta.....	2,488
Assiniboia.....	1,696
Saskatchewan.....	1,091
Yukon.....	8
Other territory.....	331
Total.....	15,107

The persistence of paganism among the Iroquois in both the United States and Canada, and the phases it assumes, have an interesting reflex bearing on the missionary work among the Six Nations and the Hurons in days gone by. The paganism of the semi-civilised tribes is an eclectic religion, which has adopted certain moral tenets of Christianity, and adjusted them to Indian mythology, rather than a mere survival of their ancient traditions. There was not and is not to-day among the aborigines of this continent who have rejected Christianity a defined creed or formal ritual according to our sense of the terms. And the paganism of the Indian who has been in contact with Christianity probably partakes of a somewhat more precise character than the beliefs and practices of the dwellers on our continent before their contact with the whites. Before as well as since the Columbian era, the Indian tribes, or whole races, have been moved by prophets to religious frenzy which was generally coupled with some political or liberative movement. The enthusiasm of these fanatics not only impressed keenly their contemporaries but left a ritual in which singing and dancing bore a conspicuous part, as a stimulus to memory.¹

The Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa was the brother of the famous warrior Tecumseh, and by his influence won many to his brother's patriotic movement. The Delaware prophet was to Pontiac in his crusade

¹ Mooney's "Report on the Ghost Dance Craze and Allied Subjects," *Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93.*

against the progress of the whites, especially British, what Peter the Hermit was to the Crusaders. He claimed not only that "this is our land and not theirs" but he strongly advocated abstinence from drunkenness and other vices introduced by the whites. He preached against intertribal war as well as against polygamy and degrading Indian customs. His moral code was borrowed from that of Christ, and Christian allegory suggested his dreams or visions, which persuaded his followers that he was the "Master of Life."

In our own day the Messiah craze, which afflicted so many of the Western tribes both of the plains and the mountains, was stimulated by injustice, was a revolt against extinction by the invader, and found expression in the old, old cry of the reappearance of a mythical deliverer.¹

The prophet who appeared in 1790, when the Iroquois were smarting under defeat by the American army, and desertion by their British allies, was Ska-ne-o-dy-o (Beautiful Lake). As usual the prophet received his commission from the Creator or Great Spirit, when in a trance, and when he was supposed to be dead. The injunction from on high, which he transmitted, inculcated marital fidelity and the practice of hospitality to all; but opposed miscegenation, and the indulgence in white men's medicines, especially alcohol, and resorting for amusement to fiddles and cards. He insisted on the use of vegetable remedies only, and the practice of a ritual, embodying doubtless many features of the old superstition. It is difficult to distinguish what is new from what is traditional in the paganism of the Indians on the Grand River Reservation in Ontario and of the United States Iroquois. The seasonal dances and accompanying exercises all bespeak a worship of

¹ Boyle's *Report*, Archaeologist for Ontario, 1898, p. 75.

nature as the Great Benefactor, and the Sun as the giver of life.¹

Mr. David Boyle, in the *Ontario Archaeological Report* for 1898, gives a detailed account of the Mid-winter Festival at the Seneca Long House on the Grand River Reservation. It consisted of a succession of dances and speeches from nine o'clock in the evening till four in the morning; the music performed on rattles and drums; the dances consisting of well-performed rhythmical movements, sometimes developing into violent antics, but generally slow and undemonstrative, and free from immodest suggestion. During the dancing those desiring were sprayed or sprinkled by a sweetened liquid forced violently from the mouth, as a healing ceremony. Most of the dancers were dressed in every-day western costumes, though in the corn-husk, false-face dance, the war dance, and the pigeon dance, the dancers assumed masks and fanciful costumes. On the day following the Mid-winter Dance and Ceremony, as still practised, took place the Burning of the White Dog by the Pagan Indians, the most sacred, and, if we or they could understand its meaning, doubtless the most significant of the ritual. It was indicative of the religious toleration or religious indifference of both pagans and Christians that a white dog, on the occasion when Mr. Boyle was present, was procured from a Christian, and Christian Indians, without offence to their fellow-tribesmen or without compunction of conscience, were present at the Burning of the White Dog, and took part in the subsequent ceremony of sprinkling the ashes. The dog is strangled before the burning, and is decked in ribbons and wampum, and though the ceremony may originally have been sacrificial in the theological sense, it is probably not regarded in that

¹ Boyle's *Report*, p. 78.

sense now, for the opening sentences of the master of ceremonies when the dog is burned, are: "Great Master, behold here all our people who hold the old faith and intend to abide by it. By means of this dog being burned we hope to please thee, and that thou wilt grant favors to us, Thy own people. I now place this dog on the fire that its spirit may find its way to Thee, who made it and made everything, and thus we hope to get blessing from Thee in return." After the sacrifice the master of ceremonies, appealing to the Great Master, regrets the fewness of the faithful, but prays to Him who is "far away above us and who made every living thing, that the sun will continue to shine on us and make all things grow," etc. Tobacco is thrown on the fire to the prayer that "its scent may reach Thee to let Thee know that we are still good and that we do not forget Thee, and that Thou mayest give us all we have asked." In the sacrifice itself, and in the scattering of the ashes of the dog, there is nothing to imply a sense of sin and a plea for forgiveness.¹

Performed in the depth of winter, the presence of death in the burning up of the body of the dog while its spirit rises to God expresses, beside the belief in immortality, the hope that what has been dear and faithful to man, of which the dog is a fitting emblem, will share in the blessings of the hereafter.

That the good Indian would pass to a happy hunting-ground was a very general belief, but a state and place of future punishment was not as clearly indicated. But there has been introduced into the system of the pagan, from his Christian teaching, the element of fear of punishment.

The confusion of pagan and Christian ideas in these

¹ Boyle's *Report*, p. 108.

modern pagan rituals, and the tenacity with which so many cling to their traditional faith, make one wonder what interpretation the old converts really put on the words of their spiritual teachers, when in their own thoughts there were so few ideas that corresponded with the meaning which either the Jesuit or the Protestant missionaries attached to the words they used.¹

The Catholic Church had organised missionary work in Florida and along the shores of the Southern States before even its earliest evangelising efforts in l'Acadie; the Episcopal Church in Virginia was not, as time advanced, indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the aborigines; the Quakers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere had always treated the natives with marked helpfulness and consideration, and the Moravian, Baptist, and other Protestant denominations have taken their share of work in converting and caring for the Indians; but the missions we have described were the only organised evangelising efforts made in the seventeenth century, by the two main sections of the Christian Church.

¹ On the other hand, Bishop Hare's work in the Dakotas contradicts such deprecatory reflections. He commenced his labours as Bishop of Niobrara in 1873. He died in 1909. He reports in 1907 that his Indian communicants had increased from 936 to 3782. At the commencement of his mission the Indians contributed \$1500, which increased to \$9500 annually. (Bishop Hare, page 281.)

CHAPTER XIX

AN EXPERIMENT IN THEOCRACY

RELIGIOUS toleration in the modern sense of the word was regarded as a crime instead of a virtue in the seventeenth century, partly because religious opinions were the actual war-cries of the great political parties which divided Europe. It was therefore not inconsistent with the spirit of the time that the Roman Catholics should be excluded from the English colonies and the Huguenots forbidden welcome to New France, or that the ritual of the Church of England should be favoured by the large landowners of Virginia, while the Puritans preferred a system of church government and worship more democratic in form and principle. Unfortunately the same spirit of the times carried people further and persuaded the majority that it was a pious duty to impose their preference on others and punish them if they resisted. Yet the most extreme dissenters from the older creeds were the most tolerant. The Quakers, even in the few situations where they had power, never used it oppressively. And the Pilgrims of the Plymouth Colony were more merciful than the Puritans. They agreed in making rigid rules for the guidance of life and the maintenance of uniformity of belief, but the penalties for breaking them were enforced more rigorously in the Bay than on the Cape. Though both communities opposed Episcopacy, the

attitude of the Pilgrims was more consistent. The Pilgrims were avowed dissenters from the Church of England. But the Puritans did not professedly and obtrusively leave the old country for conscience' sake. On embarking for Salem, they addressed, from the *Arabella*, "A Humble Request to the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England." They professed to esteem it an honour to call the Church of England "our deare Mother." "As members of the same body" they say they "shall always rejoice in her good," "and while we have breath, sincerely desire and indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare," and they beg her "to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weak colony from yourselves) making continuale request for us to God in all your prayers." However equivocal may have been their opinion when they sailed, they left no doubt, on landing, of the change in sentiment towards their "deare Mother."

The Pilgrims were political and ecclesiastical democrats before they left their English homes for Holland. On the other hand, most of the Episcopalian clergymen who emigrated threw off apparently their prejudice with their vestments before they reached the New World. If earnest Episcopalians in large numbers had emigrated, the Gorges concessions would not have been allowed to lapse, and during the century Congregationalism would not have had such undisputed control over the Colonies. Episcopalianism was, as John Quincy Adams expresses it, "an exotic in Puritan New England." Ecclesiastically it represents monarchy, Presbyterianism republicanism, and Congregationalism democracy. The Cambridge Synod of the Congregational Church in 1648 even calls Presbyterians aristocrats. The Gorges Colonists would have been

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Episcopalian if Episcopalians had been willing to emigrate. They had no motive to do so before the Commonwealth.

It was the religious fervour of fanaticism which carried the colonists through the trials of the early period. But as they were all independent thinkers there were unavoidably dissenters even in the Puritan camp. Some who found the Massachusetts system of Church government, under State enforcement and restricted franchise, oppressive, migrated to the Upper Connecticut Colonies with Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Warham. Others followed Roger Williams to Rhode Island; and others, under John Davenport, endeavoured to form in New Haven a purely theocratic state, in which the civil rule was distinctly subordinate to the Church. There were not enough Episcopalians in the colony at first to organise an opposition to the arbitrary law of the majority. Almost all the colonists were at one in discarding vestments and ceremonials, in opposing sacramentalism, and denying transmitted priestly officialism and sanctity; and therefore the controversy did not lie between Episcopalians and dissenters. To submit to the dictates of a Bishop was as repugnant to New England ideas as to admit that such Kings as those of the House of Stuart could be accepted under any interpretation of the title as the head of the Church. And the Puritan of every phase of dissent, who was not a Baptist, insisted on "covenant" instead of "inherited memberships," as the qualification for participation in Church privileges. Even Presbyterianism, with its Church courts to which the individual congregation was subject, imposed restraints on individualism to which neither the Separatist of Plymouth nor the Puritan of Massachusetts could submit. Independency in England, or its equivalent, Congregationalism,

as it was called very early in the day in Massachusetts, gave the greatest individual liberty to the Church member, and yet supplied a feeble though workable corporate bond, as an association for worship and for Church government. It was through disagreements on minor points, not through any radical divergences of doctrine or fundamental departure from the democratic idea in matters of Church government, that these amicable schisms from the parent colonial bodies took place, which resulted in the migration of pastor and people to new localities, and thus helped the spread of population and the absorption of territory into the Commonwealth. Another benefit derived from what we would regard as ecclesiastical domination was that Church membership as a qualification for citizenship may have prevented individualism from running wild. It imposed personal restraint on men who were undoubtedly conscientious and awake to their responsibilities.

The covenants by which the members of a congregation, who, as the members were the only civil voters, bound themselves, were sometimes as simple as the Salem covenant: "We covenant with the Lord and with one another and doe bynd ourselves in the presence of God to walk together in all his wayes, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of truth."¹ The same Salem church chose by written ballot Francis Skelton as its pastor and Thomas Higginson as teacher. Those distinct ministerial functions, under the Separatist system, were with reasonableness filled by men of different faculties and tempers. "Mr. Higginson and three or four of the gravest members of the church laid their hands on Mr.

¹ See more implicit form of covenant in Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. ii., p. 332.

Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, there was imposition of hands upon Mr. Higginson also." Baptism and the Lord's Supper were to be administered by them as "Seals of the covenant," not as sacraments. Elders, deacons, and widows, according to the constitution recommended by Brown, constituted the other officers, no one of whom, however, was to be in any sense an intermediary between God and the believers, "though they have the grace and office of teaching and guiding. Because anyone in the Church is made King and Priest and Prophet, under Christ, to upbuilde and further the kingdom of God."¹

Such was substantially the democratic organisation of all the New England churches. The members of each congregation discarded all transmitted authority; paid no reverence to tradition; reduced the form of worship to the simplest elements; and reserved the right of electing their own ministers, who were associated with laymen as ruling elders. But as the franchise was confined to church members, the ministers chosen by these small groups of voters became at once in America the arbitrary rulers of a despotic theocracy, using the arm of the civil power as an instrument for enforcing their decrees, transmitted by them through the Bible from heaven direct. "The unknown editor of the 1764 Edition of Wood's *New England Prospect.* in his preface, makes the following remarkable charge as pertinent to the abuses of ecclesiasticism in New France and New England: "The first laws of New England were wholly adapted to the promotion of religion and that mode of worship they preferably esteemed, and to this all their manners and conduct were mainly bent; forcibly proving upon what views

¹ *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut* by M. Louise Greene, p. 14.

our first settlers emigrated. Had commerce been their aim, the spirit of their laws would have been commercial, for laws are the best index of the spirit of a government; but it was religion; the mind is ever shifting after its favourite point, and upon the first liberty unfailingly discovers itself. If this principle was pushed too far from the civil state, candour should draw a veil over human infirmities; over the infirmities of men severely disappointed and maltreated in their native land; over men whose ideas of the Deity were that of inflexible justice, rather than of benign mercy; over the errors of the age, rather than its faults of particular fact, for the good policy of toleration was at that time scarcely known.”¹

The same author (commenting on the relation of the colonies to the mother country) adds: “The first plan of the government established a kind of theocracy by making the word of God the rule of law. This gave the clergy infinite rights in the constitution. They were naturally the expounders of the law, and in so young a country were almost the only men of learning. From that circumstance the attachment and deference to their cloth was almost implicit, and for aught I know to this very cause may the greatest errors into which the country fell at its first settlement be ascribed.”²

Whether, as in New France, the clergy claimed influence in virtue of their office, or in New England as interpreters of the Scriptures, the result was in many respects the same: a control over the civil power, which we resent: but under clerical influence there was maintained in both colonies an obedience to law and a respect for religion seldom witnessed in border communities nowadays.

The laws of Connecticut have been stigmatized by

¹ Wood, page 13.

² *Ibid.*, page 26.

the ambiguous term of "Blue Laws," but they do not differ essentially from those of the northern colonies. In fact, as rules and regulations for the government of society, the laws on both sides the St. Lawrence were good, and even the criminal codes compared with those of Europe, were humane. There has always been a neutral zone between the "domain of morals and law," within which certain acts were left at one time to the decision of conscience, which at another are regulated by statute. In the early stages of society certain crimes are capital which at others are "venial." When a man's life depended on his horse, the horse thief was hanged by the vigilant committee. Certain States impose restrictions on the individual's use of alcoholic liquor quite as arbitrarily as the Connecticut code restricted the use of tobacco. No matter how moderately used, it is illegal to drink alcohol in the vehicle of a public carrier in Oklahoma. The Connecticut law-maker, as a measure of health and cleanliness only, imposed a penalty of sixpence "if any one shall take any tobacco publicquely, in the street, highways or any barneyarde or upon traning days, in any open places."¹

William Smith, Chief Justice of New York, in the continuation of his *History of New York*, 1767, says of an old manuscript submitted to him, assumed to contain the first code of Connecticut Laws of 1645-6:

"It contains the memorials of the first establishment of the colony, which consisted of persons who had wandered beyond the limits of the old Charter of Massachusetts Bay and who, as yet unauthorised by the

¹ Page 96 of the *Colony Laws*.

The inordinate use of tobacco is probably more injurious to the national health than alcoholic liquor, even as drunk to-day. The nuisance is also perhaps more conspicuous in the one case than in the other.

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Crown to set up any civil government in due form of law, resolved to conduct themselves by the Bible. As a necessary consequence, the Judges they chose took up an authority similar to that which every religious man exercises over his own children and domestics. Hence their attention to the morals of the people, in instances with which the civil magistrate can never intermeddle, under a regular well-policed institution, because to preserve liberty, they are cognisable only by parental authority."¹

The Bible was recognized as containing the organic laws which should govern society, but no distinction was made between the development which had occurred between the date of Moses and that of Christ, as expressed in the Pentateuch and the Gospels. Hence the sanitary and moral code of Moses fitted admirably into the condition of a new community in the wilderness, but the criminal code of the Old Testament, applied to witches, heretics, and pagan Indians, led to the enormities which have exposed the Puritans to more or less just criticism.

The unanimity, however, with which all these religious communities acted in placing government in the control of the church members, is expressed in the proceedings of the colonists of New Haven when on "The fourth day of the fourth moneth, called June, 1639, all the free planters assembled together in a general meetinge, to consult about settling civil government according to GOD, and about the nomination of persons that may be found by consent of all fittest in all respects for the foundation work of a Church which was intended to be gathered in Quinipieck . . . for the better enabling them to discerne the minde of GOD, and to agree accordingly concerning the establishment of civil

¹ Trumbull's *True Blue Laws*, p. 30.

order, Mr. John Davenport propounded divers queries." The second was—"Whereas there was a covenant solemnly made by the whole assembly of free planters of this plantation, the first day of extraordinary humiliation that we had after we came together, that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all publique officers, which concern civil order, as choyce of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, divideing allotments of inheritances, and all things of the nature we would all of us be ordered by those rules which the scripture holds forth to us. This covenant was called a plantation covenant to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered, but was deferred till a church might be gathered according to GOD. It was demanded whether all the free planters doe holde themselves bound by that covenant in all business of that nature which are expressed in the covenant, to submit themselves to be ordered by the rules which are held forth in the scripture."¹

After considerable debate "All having spoken their apprehensions it was agreed upon, and Mr. Robert Newman was desired to write it as an order whereunto every one that hereafter should be admitted here as planters should submit, and testify the same by subscribing their names in the order, namely,

"That Church Members only shall be free Burgesses, and that they only shall chuse magistrates and officers among themselves, to have the power of transacting all publique civil affairs of this plantation, of making and repealing laws, devideing of inheritances, deciding on differences that may arise, and doing all things or businesses of like nature.

¹ *The Code of 1650.* Hartford, published by Judd, Loomis & Co., 1836.

"This being settled as a fundamental article concerning civil government, Mr. Davenport propounded and proposed some things to consider about the gatheringe of a Church."¹

While it is true that Congregationalism, as practised at first in New England, seemed to favour ecclesiastical despotism, the system provided remedies or checks which were ultimately adopted to remedy defects. On the other hand, in New France the very opposite principle of compulsory collectivism, under church authority and paternal government, was authoritatively enforced as long as France was the ruler.

Under the Brownist system even the ordination of elders was not essential. No clergyman accompanied the New Plymouth Pilgrims. The Rev. John Robinson who had been their pastor in Leyden and expected to join them in the New World, was hindered in his wishes till death "appointed him to a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place" in 1625. Church functions were performed by the lay ruling elder, William Brewster, and Gov. Bradford himself preached acceptably to his own people, and answered appeals for advice and assistance from the Bay. This state of things continued till 1629, when, to use Rev. John Cuckson's emphatic account of what happened, as told in his brief history of *The First Church of Plymouth*, "There arrived in the *Talbot* one Ralph Smith, a clergyman whose ecclesiastical status when he boarded the ship was a matter of conjecture. He was thought to be a Separatist, and Matthew Cradock, Governor in England of the Massachusetts Colony, sent a message to Endicott of Salem concerning him, 'that unless he be conformable to our Government, you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant.' Cradock's

¹ *Code of 1659*, p. 118.

suspicions were well-founded, and Smith, upon inquiry, was compelled to accept the alternative of being shipped back to England, in the *Lion's Whelp*, or of seeking quarters where his views would meet with more favour than Salem accorded to them. He fled to Nantasket, and after struggling for some time in poverty, he persuaded the captain of a Plymouth vessel to take him and his family on board, and convey them to the freer Colony. He was received by the Pilgrims somewhat cautiously, but after close investigation was welcomed, and finally ordained the first minister of the church in Plymouth."

Jealousy of the mother country probably induced the New England Church to refuse participation in the Conference at Westminister which resulted in the *Confession of Faith*. There was for a time a diversity of wish and opinion. Even those inclined to accept were by force of circumstances prevented. And ultimately all agreed that their liberty of framing a church government to meet their local requirements would have been hampered by participation in its debates and acquiescence in some of the decisions of the Westminister Divines. On doctrinal questions all agreed with the Westminister Confession. But there was by no means unanimity of sentiment on points of church government.¹

A congress of disunited churches left undefined, among other questions, the distribution of powers as between Church and State. Therefore a bill was preferred unto the General Court of Massachusetts in the year 1646, for the calling of a synod, whereby, a "platform of church discipline," according to the direction of our Lord Jesus Christ in his blessed word, might most advantageously be composed and published."

¹ Hutchinson, page 118.

The synod met at Cambridge late in the autumn of 1646, but as few of the ministers invited from other colonies were present, it adjourned till the following June, after deciding that "the civil magistrate in matters of religion, or of the first table, hath power civilly to command or forbid things respecting the outward man which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishments, according to the nature of the transgressions against the same."

June, 1647, was so sickly that a further adjournment was agreed to, and the famous Cambridge *Platform of Church Discipline* was not agreed to until 1648.

It is an interesting document, describing primitive congregationalism in its simplest form in a State governed by pious and obedient church members. The following extracts describe the system:

"A congregational church is by the institution of Christ a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body by an holy covenant, for the publique worship of God, and the mutual edification of one another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus."

"A church being a company of people combined together by covenant for the worship of God, there may be the essence and being of a church without any officers. . . . Nevertheless, tho' officers be not absolutely necessary to the simple being of churches, when they be called; yet ordinarily to their calling they are, and to their well-being."

These officers were either extraordinary or ordinary: extraordinary, as apostles; ordinary, as elders and deacons."

"Of elders (who are also in Scripture called *bishops*) some attend chiefly to the ministry of the word, as the

PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD:
AND AGREED UPON BY THE ELDERS:
AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT CAMBRIDGE
IN NEW ENGLAND

To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court
for their considerat:ion and acceptance,
in the Lord.

The Eight Moneth Anno 1649

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- Psal: 84. 1. How amiable are thy Tabernacles O Lord of Hosts?
Psal: 26. 8. Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house & the
place where thine honour dwelleth.
Psal: 27. 4. One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek
after; but I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the
days of my life to behold the beauty of the Lord & to
enquire in his Temple.
-

Printed by S G at Cambridge in New England
and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston
anno Dom: 1649.

Title-page of "A Platform of Church Discipline," Cambridge, 1649.



pastors and teachers; others attend especially unto rule, who are, therefore, called *ruling elders*.

"The ruling elder's office is distinct from the office of pastor and teacher. The ruling elder's work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule, which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments committed to them."

"The office of a deacon is instituted in the church by the Lord Jesus." "The office and work of a deacon is to receive the offerings of the church, etc."

The Ruling Eldership was never favoured with cordial, unreserved acceptance. As Cotton Mather puts it, "There were some who cannot see any such officer as what we call a *ruling elder* directed and appointed in the word of God."

In time the office of Ruling Eldership was abandoned by the churches as an unnecessary appendage to the church organization. The double ministerial function held by two officers was soon entrusted in most churches to one, and when the ruling lay eldership was dispensed with, the pastor, who had the right of veto, became, in virtue of the prerogative of his office, as powerful as any priest. Thus a minister who had his congregation well in hand could virtually excommunicate a recalcitrant member, who, when expelled from the church by the vote of the congregation, could not be admitted to another without a clean bill of health.

The right of election to Church offices was of course vested in the members constituting a church.

Excommunication exposed the victim to what in modern parlance would be called a boycott:

"While the offender remains excommunicate, the church is to refrain from all member-like communion with him in spiritual things, and also from all familiar communion with him in civil things, farther than the

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necessity of natural or domestical relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed." The subjection of the church to the elder, once he is appointed and ordained, is distinctly expressed.

"A church, being free, cannot become subject to any but by a free election; yet when such a people do chuse any to be over them in the Lord, then do they become subject, and most willingly submit to their ministry in the Lord, whom they have chosen.

"The choice of such church officers belongeth not to the civil magistrate as such, or diocesan bishops, or patrons; for of these, or any such like, the Scripture is wholly silent, as having any power therein."

The description of the power of the Church and its Presbytery is interesting:

"This government of the church is a mixt government (and so has been acknowledged, long before the term of *independency* was heard of); in respect of Christ, the head and king of the church, and the Sovereign Power residing in him, and exercised by him, it is a *monarchy*; in respect of the body or brotherhood of the church, and power from Christ granted unto them it resembles a *democracy*; in respect of the presbytery and power committed unto them, it is an *aristocracy*.

"Church-government or rule is placed by Christ in the officers of the church, who are therefore called *rulers*, while they rule with God."

It was, however, defined that the synod's rulings are therefore only in the nature of directions; they are not authoritative laws to be obeyed as such, and it rests with the congregation to decide whether they are "consonant to the word of God." The reluctance of the church to curtail the independence of the congregation and put it under the jurisdiction of a church

court, was extreme during the century. It was not till the fervour of pristine piety had grown cold and worldliness and wealth had choked the seed of the Word and made it unfruitful, that it became impossible to maintain the integrity of congregationalism by reliance on the purity of the individual congregations. Church government by synod, hardly distinguishable from Presbyterianism, was adopted, as permissible under the Saybrook *Platform of 1708*.

The Cambridge *Platform* concludes by leaving no doubt as to the subordination of the State to the Church and the obligation which the General Court lay under to carry out the orders of the Church.

"Idolatry, blasphemy, heresie, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lord's Day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by civil authority.

"If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case, the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require. The tribes on this side Jordan intended to make war against the other tribes for building the altar of witness, whom they suspected to have turned away therein from following of the Lord."

It was not till the confidence of the public was shaken in the wisdom of the elders by the horrible incidents of the witchcraft episode that the incongruity of submitting the application of the code and procedure of the Jews to the trial of Christians' cases became so ap-

parent that general sentiment favoured the restriction of the right of church officers to impose ecclesiastical censure and ecclesiastical punishment.

The congregationalists do not appear to have recognised the contradiction between a church system which carried individual independence so far that the unit of government, residing in the congregation, was reduced to the smallest possible dimension, and yet vesting in the elders the power of interfering with the constituted authorities in civil cases and compelling all to pay for the support of the Church, whether they were its members or not. This is provided in the following section (page 224-225).

"The apostle concludes that necessary and sufficient maintenance is due unto the ministers of the word from the law of nature and nations, from the law of Moses, the equity thereof, as also the rule of common reason.

"Not only members of churches, but 'all that are taught in the word,' are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good things. In case that congregations are defective in their contributions, the deacons are to call upon them to do their duty; if their call sufficeth not, the Church by her power is to require it of their members; and where church power, thro' the corruption of men, doth not or cannot attain the end, the magistrate is to see that the ministry be duly provided for, as appears from the commended example of Nehemiah. The magistrates are nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, and stand charged with the custody of both tables; because it is better to prevent a scandal, that it may not come, and easier also, than to remove it, when it is given."

In 1643 Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven were confederated for defence and for

mutual counsel in matters theological as well as civil.¹ The Federal Council consisted of eight commissioners, two from each colony, irrespective of population (the first expression of the Federal principle embodied to-day in the Constitution of the United States Senate). The Confederation was not formally dissolved for forty years, but its influence soon waned from jealousy of the preponderant influence of Massachusetts. Its decision in 1647 against a treaty for trade and defence against the Iroquois, which the Jesuit Father Druillette was commissioned by Governor de Courcelle to propose to the Massachusetts and Plymouth authorities, is the only instance where the Council of the Confederation took formal action in the affairs of New France and held conference with a delegate from its Governor. The Confederation virtually extinguished New Plymouth politically and must have involved the absorption of the Separatists into the larger Congregational mass. Mr. Cuckson, the present pastor of the First Church in Plymouth, doubtless reflects the sentiment of the congregation of the same church at the time of the Confederation, when he regrets that "it gave to the Massachusetts Colony a preponderating power and reacted unfavorably on the liberalism of Plymouth." He says, not untruly, of the Plymouth Colony: "It represented heroic history and traditions in which no other colony could share. Its ideals of liberty, self-reliance, and manliness were its own. From the first, it had carved out an independent course for itself, and had pursued that course, with unflinching loyalty and determination. Now, the age of chivalry and romance

¹There was no reference to England as the Sovereign Power in the Articles of Confederation, and one reason for excluding Rhode Island was that its freemen took an oath of fealty to the English King. Thwaite's *Colonies*, pp. 157-158.

was coming to an end. The old Colony had fought a good fight and finished its course. It had stood out bravely for the widest conception, then known, of civil and religious liberty, preserving the independence and integrity of the State, bridling religious intolerance, and offering an asylum for brave and honest men, who had been cast out by Prelacy and Puritanism. Henceforth, it was to form a minor part in a union with forces against which it had long contended.”¹

The growth territorially of the original colonies introduced a mixed population of discordant views, even when not distinctly irreligious; and under the influence of commerce and wealth the worship of mammon displaced the worship of God. One result was a demand for greater laxity in church discipline, which had to be conceded. The public declaration of conversion, with specific details of all incidents and emotions, leading up to and consequent upon it, which alone entitled to Church membership, became distasteful to the more latitudinarian colonists, and broad baptismal privileges replaced the restriction of baptism to the children of any but the Church members of the rigid communion. As early as 1656, Massachusetts invited the General Courts of three other colonies to send delegates to a synod, which should deliberate on such debatable points as church membership and baptism. New Haven declined to appoint representatives, but John Davenport sent his written dissenting views on the subjects in dispute.

The convention of ministers from Massachusetts and Connecticut which assembled in Boston decided to restrict participation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to church members who had made public confession, but suggested, as a half-way covenant, that

¹ *A Brief History of the First Church of Plymouth*, pp. 42-43.

the children of baptised persons who were not leading scandalous lives, though not church members, might nevertheless be baptised.

Other concessions continued to be demanded and granted. And thus gradually departure from pristine Puritanism became inevitable, as the population absorbed not only irreligious elements but fanatics like the Rogerines and enthusiasts like the Quakers, as well as sober churchmen. In England all Christians not Episcopalian were called dissenters. In a British colony they objected to being themselves branded with that opprobrious epithet. Moreover, they protested against paying taxes for any other State Church but their own. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was re-created in 1701, not only as a missionary organisation, but to supply the small group of Episcopalian in the colonies with clergymen, and to emphasise the appeals for redress and equal treatment made to the home Government by Episcopal churches in New England. The dread of creating so strong a prejudice in England as to endanger its charter added to the growing spread of liberality, led to the relaxation not only of the penal laws against heretics and schismatics, but to such concessions to the Episcopalian as released them, when in sufficient numbers to constitute congregations, from the payment of taxes in support of the Congregational or State Church.

In England, after the accession of William and Mary, and the passage of the Toleration Act, an attempt was made to draw dissenters by persuasive means towards the Episcopalian position. They were as fruitless as were the efforts to reconcile the difference between Independents and Presbyterians. With that object certain "Heads of Agreement" were framed and

accepted in 1691, but not heartily adopted by either communion. It was argued at the time that the effect of any concession, or departure from the accepted creed, was to weaken the hold of religion on the public mind and conscience. Nevertheless, the State Church had to make compromises, which in the height of early religious enthusiasm would have been deemed profane concessions to Satan. Her claims to ecclesiastical control not being vested in her by charter or constitution, she was affected by winds of popular agitation which her members could not resist. In this respect the Church of Rome in Canada rested on a more stable foundation.

The falling away from the standards of primitive piety was recognised as early as 1678, when the Re-forming Synod met in Boston. Alarmed by the fate of backsliding Israel in Josiah's time, the members, deplored the decline in religious observance and depravity in morals, concluded the preface to their findings with the following lament: "What God out of his sovereignty may do for us, no man can say; but according to his wonted dispensations, we are a perishing people, if now we reform not."

Most of the sins they deplore were shortcomings common in every community with the increase of wealth and the class of people prosperity attracts.

The first remedy suggested is that office bearers should set a good example, the last that education be not neglected. One would have expected that with the growth of commerce and wealth that of learning would have kept pace, but the Re-forming Synod declared that:

"When New England was poor, and we were but few in number comparatively, there was a spirit to encourage learning, and the college was full of students, whom God hath made blessings, not only in this, but in other

lands; but it is deeply to be lamented that now, when we are become many, and more able than at our beginnings, society and other inferior schools are in such a low and languishing state. Wherefore, as we desire that reformation and religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavour that both the college, and all other schools of learning in every place, be duly inspected and encouraged."

Cotton Mather says the deliberations and decisions of the Synod were not without effect on the morals of the Colony, Church and State uniting to determine the reason of the divine wrath and avert it. "The ministers drew up the results of their deliberations, which the magistrates recommended unto the consideration of the inhabitants in the several jurisdictions."

Cotton Mather's reflections were undoubtedly correct that "the old spirit of New England hath been sensibly going out of the world, as the old saints in whom it was have gone; and instead thereof the spirit of the world with a lamentable neglect of strict piety, has crept in upon the rising generation."

A proclamation was issued threatening the vengeance of heaven and recommending the more rigid enforcement of law, but no such extreme measures were taken by the civil power as would have been brought to bear on offenders in the early days, for the theocracy had lost its power. The experiment of maintaining ecclesiastical control in a free state by the will of the people had failed.

CHAPTER XX

ECCLESIASTICISM IN NEW FRANCE

ECCLESIASTICISM, as we have seen, was as dominant for a time in New England as in New France, though the conceptions on which the idea of a church rested were so diametrically different, and although the claims to deference and obedience on which the Elders of the New England Church relied were feeble, when compared with the authority and right claimed by the Church of Rome for its clergy. Both churches, moreover, endowed their ecclesiastics with more or less political authority. In doing so they followed the custom of mediæval times, when the highest offices of state were generally held by priests, and the cathedral nave was the place of public municipal and political meetings. One of the few points on which both the Roman Catholic and the reform churches agreed was that religion must penetrate and control every phase of life, and that therefore the dissociation of Church and State was irreligious. Church and State must unite to enforce righteousness. Had there been no difference of opinion among the reform churches; had all dissenters from Rome agreed upon a reform plan of church government and a reform system of doctrine, the alliance between Church and State would not have been dissolved as completely as it has been under Protestant sectionalism. It was because there was bitter opposi-

tion in England by the minority to the ecclesiastical rule adopted by the majority, and because the majority enforced their views upon the minority by the machinery of the State, that the War of the Rebellion assumed a religious aspect. It was not because either side rejected on principle the alliance between the Church and the State. The migration of the Brownists and the Puritans to America was to escape from the objectionable rule of the majority, who thought differently from themselves, and to create an independent state, in which they, being the majority, could enforce the practice of their principles by process of law upon a minority—should there happen to be such. Whatever differences may have divided the Pilgrims and the Puritans, they were not acute enough to produce a schism in church government, for both communities soon entered with Connecticut the confederation as a theocratic state. The experiment was tried of constituting a state or states in which the individual liberty of the citizens would be preserved while requiring their submission to the dictation of a body of men who, by virtue of their education rather than of their office, regarded themselves as divinely instructed guides. Their claims rested not on the will of the majority, but on the mandate of a divine law, of which they claimed to be the interpreters, and which the State must execute under their dictation.

In New France the authority of the Church was secured by much simpler and more authoritative methods. Co-ordinate authority was given to the Church and State by conferring on the highest representative of the Church a prominent seat at the Supreme Council. The law not only recognised the Church of Rome as the State Church, but in fullest amplitude admitted all its claims to conduct educa-

tion; to regulate the code of morals; to control public opinion by excluding from the colonies all foreigners and heretics, and banish all books which might disseminate objectionable views. The Puritan church claimed substantially the same authority. It succeeded for a time in maintaining it, but in the end, which soon came, the obvious antagonism between the fundamental principles of parliamentary government and the pretensions of the Elders frustrated their own scheme of a state whose laws should be enacted by Parliament and yet be subject to revision by men governed by a code not in the statute book. A union of Church and State less close than that of the Puritan State might be consistent with free parliamentary government, and it may well be regretted that the experiment was not made by men of calmer theological temper; for the dissociation of all religion from statecraft is not a healthy phase of modern life and education. The Episcopal Church of England still tries to maintain a certain shadowy reliance on the State and the State patronises the Church; but the Puritan element in the kingdom still frustrates any connection approaching an organic alliance.

The Church of Rome in New France retained a position with the State, paramount till the extinction of French power. But it, like the Puritan Church, has destroyed its influence in most Catholic countries by arrogantly claiming rights to which no free people can submit. Her assertion of infallibility on all matters of religion and morals rests on claims which are more attractive to minds seeking for some authoritative basis of belief than the shifting theoretical arguments which Protestantism offers. And therefore any government which is willing to yield so many of its functions to the Church as she claims belong to her, and to submit to its

arbitrary heaven-inspired demands, finds in the Church with its credulous faithful an ally of irresistible strength. But the citizens of the State must be at the same time obedient members of the Church. The government of France took every precaution that this condition be secured in New France. It succeeded in imposing consent, or at any rate silent assent, on the part of the colonists to what the Church demanded; but it could not induce its own civil officials to bow abjectly to the dictates of the ecclesiastical authorities. For half a century during the most critical period of the colonial régime, unseemly disputes between the Bishop and the chief civil officers were a disturbing element within the Colony; while the dread of strict clerical espionage, to which the colonists were exposed, had a deterrent effect on immigration. The rigid system of Rome kept the Colony free from heresy; and the influence of the Church has perpetuated in Canada a type of people religious in spirit and moral in behaviour, but backward in commercial industrial life. The Puritans tried to reconcile these antagonistic forces, but the machinery of the Puritan Church and of the State could not stand the strain.

Still the swing of the pendulum may be backward to some of the practices of Puritanism. The America of to-day, in the intensity of its business life and the independence of its political and social theories, is the developed product of the Puritan State. It broke all the bonds with which the mother country tried to restrain its exuberant mercantile energy and its progressive political aspirations. In matters theological it produced such incongruities as the Cottons, the Mathers, Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, the Quakers, and the witches, before New England threw off the trammels of Puritanism itself. At length the Church

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found itself powerless to prevent dissent, and the riotous license of free thought, which was its own offspring.

In reviewing the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in New France, her endeavours to win the Indians from savagery to Christianity claim a first place. These missionary efforts extended over the tribes who hunted the forests of the North Atlantic coast and the watershed of the St. Lawrence; over the ruthless warriors of the Iroquois Confederation, and the impetuous buffalo hunters of the plains. And the narrative has all the charm of a romance, heightened by the picturesque scenery of an unsoiled continent, and the figures of the grey-gowned, sandalled Recollets and the black-robed stately Jesuits. But the more sedate labours of the secular clergy as parish priests have left a more permanent impression on the population. And they, with the higher clergy, occupied on the stage of Canadian history a more conspicuous place than that which even the Elders were permitted to arrogate to themselves in the Puritan commonwealth.

Champlain brought out with his little company of fur hunters neither priest nor presbyter; and therefore, until the Recollet friars accompanied him in 1615, neither Catholic nor Protestant had the advice of clergy in life or their assistance in death. The Recollets and the Jesuits, who joined them in 1625, performed all the functions of the Church until Kirke displaced them in 1629. When New France was restored to Old France in 1632 the Jesuits alone returned.

Before the Conquest, service was performed in a little chapel beneath the cliffs near the *habitation*, built by Champlain, and not far from where the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires now stands. The monks, however, anxious for even greater seclusion, built a monastery two miles away on the St. Charles. Their

labours among the few employees of the fur company were not exacting, but as missionaries they carried the gospel as far west as the Huron *bourgades* on Georgian Bay, and accompanied their Indian neighbours, the Abnakis, even on their hunting expeditions.

When New France and the Jesuits were restored, the Jesuits remained the most influential ecclesiastical force in the Colony, and the only clergy until the coming to Ville Marie (Montreal) of the priests of St. Sulpice in 1649. These became *seigneurs* of the island and one of them, the Abbé Queylus, was created *Grande Vicaire* by the Bishop of Rouen, who claimed episcopal authority over the Canadian Church. This not being agreeable to the Jesuits, they used their influence to secure the appointment of a bishop of their own choosing. Their selection was M. François de Laval de Montmorency, a scion of that famous fighting stock. He came out as titular Bishop of Petria in 1659; and without delay, or any sensitive consideration for the feelings of those who infringed on what he considered his episcopal rights or dignity, expelled M. Queylus and commenced to rule as one endowed with higher powers than the Governor himself.

The first three governors, Champlain, Montmagny, and d'Aillebout, were pious Catholics. The fourth, De Lauzon, though obedient to the Church, and well fitted for the post by his training as the Company's Intendant in France, used his office for family promotion, and left the Colony a prey to the Iroquois, who were ravaging it from east to west. The King therefore decided that a soldier must replace the civilian, and appointed the Vicomte d'Argenson, an officer selected for his military ability rather than his religious sentiments or training. He may or may not have had anti-clerical prejudices, but trifling causes of

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friction soon arose between him and the Bishop, which were magnified into momentous issues. Thus broke out a war between the head of the State and the head of the Church which was waged, with few truces, well into the next century; most acutely under d'Argenson's two successors, d'Avaugour and de Mezy, though revived with vigour under Canada's most able and belligerent governor, Frontenac.

The quarrels were at times over questions of disputed precedence between officers of state and church officials, or as to whether the governor might sit within the cathedral choir or must occupy a place in front of the altar rails. Any trifle sufficed to excite a quarrel.

But two really grave subjects divided the Colony upon which the Bishops and the Governors took opposite sides. They were the brandy question, involving the sale of alcohol to the Indians, and the amount of tithes which should be paid for the support of the secular clergy. The Bishop, and in a less aggressive way the Jesuits, insisted upon the total prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. Bishop Laval went so far as to have three men shot for selling liquor to the aborigines, the execution being disapproved of by the Governor. The demoralising influence of alcohol was everywhere recognised, but all classes profited by its use as a medium of exchange. The fur company and its agents found it a great aid to negotiation, not only in the woods but at the annual gathering of Indians and traders on the St. Lawrence. Even the farmers who did a little business with the Indians on their own account used their bottle of brandy instead of their purse. The Church alone was actuated by unselfish motives in opposing the sale of brandy; and was uncompromising in its contest with the merchants and traders, fighting with all the weapons in its well-

stocked armory, including excommunication. The wielding of these excited more irritation than if milder and more reasonable arguments had been used, and if political intrigues had been avoided. The question was submitted to the ecclesiastical courts in France and contradictory decisions were given. The University of Toulouse approved of the sale of brandy as attracting the savages to the French and therefore to the Catholic religion, and withdrawing them from the blandishments and better markets, but worse liquor, of the English traders, whose whiskey was known as the *rhom de bière*. The Sorbonne on the other hand stigmatised the traffic and the sale of liquor to the Indians as a mortal sin. Each side was thus supplied with convincing arguments, and therefore all the governors, from d'Argenson to Frontenac, felt justified in favouring the trade. But thoughtful men regretted that the controversy should have reached such a pass that "it divided the Church and the world, the temporal and the spiritual powers, the rulers of the Church and the rulers of the State: and that the controversy was waged with an animosity which deeply grieved all moderate men, the more so as each side was able to array a host of maxims, reasons and precedents in support of its case."

Laval had only been in control of the Church for three years when he returned to France to secure the retirement of the second governor with whom he had been at odds. He returned with a ruler of his own choice, the Sieur de Mezy, who proved more intractable than even his predecessor. He was excommunicated for disobedience, but repented on his death-bed. A brief period of armed neutrality existed during de Courcelle's tenure of office, owing to the strict injunctions of Colbert and the influence of the great Intendant, Talon. He, though bitterly opposed to the Church and the Jesuits,

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was determined on fostering the industries and trade of the Colony, with which the perpetual bickering seriously interfered. Despite his apparent neutrality, it was to counteract the influence of Laval and the Jesuits that he secured the reintroduction of the Recollet friars as allies.

The next governor, Frontenac, was sent out to fight the Iroquois. At the same time he was nothing loath to enter on the battle with the Church, more especially as at the time Bishop Laval was in France, and his own authority was unhampered by the interference of an Intendant. Talon was in France and his successor, Duchesneau, had not arrived.

Frontenac was thus for a time free, in the fullest sense; and he ruled with a high hand. He imprisoned priests in spite of the capitularies and canon law; seized and incarcerated the local Governor of Montreal; packed the Sovereign Council with his own appointees; refused to allow the Bishop's Vicar-General to occupy his seat in the Council; planned a campaign against the Indians, and collected men and supplies on the most approved system of commandeering. He cared as little for the Bishop's anathema as for public approval or disapproval, doing what he thought best for the general good and safety of the Colony, without even caring whether his action would be sanctioned by the Court and minister. What mattered that? He was following his own opinion, and the disapproval of his acts could only be received from France eight months afterwards. No wonder such opposite estimates have been formed of the great Governor's character and actions! But looking back, the fierce and undaunted visage and martial mien of the veteran warrior, and the austere form of his adversary, the Bishop, stand out as the most imposing and impressive figures among that group of

seventeenth century heroes, who stood on the rock of Quebec, framed by the impenetrable forests, and washed by the mysterious and majestic river, whose source the black-robed priests were the first of their race to explore. We may blame the Governor for assuming powers with which he was not legally invested, and we may blame the Bishop for wielding unmercifully the terrible weapons the Church put into his hands, but who dare charge either with false or sordid motives? But however we may, or men at the time might, excuse or accuse the actors, they maintained by their quarrels a state of internal war—from administration to administration which retarded the growth of the Colony and distracted people from healthy industry.

The brandy controversy was transferred to France, where Laval sent as his ambassador Father Dudouyt to plead his cause before the Court. He laid the Bishop's views before Colbert, who insisted that the clergy must confine themselves to their ecclesiastical functions and not meddle in matters of state. Thereupon Colbert's confessor refused him absolution. Nevertheless the minister still insisted that the Bishop, in making the sale of brandy a *cas réservé* and hurling excommunications right and left for a practice accepted as legitimate elsewhere, was bringing the Church into discredit. The case was then brought before the King himself, who asked for a report from twenty of the most influential colonists. The opinion of each delegate was given separately. All except Joliet favoured the sale of brandy. He advised that the sale of liquor to the Indians be permitted in the settlements, but forbidden in the woods. Laval was persuaded to accept the promulgation of an edict along the lines of Joliet's suggestion.

The controversy between Frontenac and the Bishop

so palpably obstructed the progress of the Colony that the great Governor was recalled. But his successors were feeble, and their dealing with the Indians perfidious and dangerous. Frontenac was alone deemed capable of rescuing the Colony from destruction at the hands of the Iroquois and the English colonists. He therefore reassumed office for the second time in 1689. St. Vallier was then in the episcopal chair. He was a man of more pliable nature than Laval.

The brandy question had been settled by statute, but there arose other causes of friction between the head of the State and the head of the Church, the representatives of the two forces which should always coöperate and yet are generally antagonistic. A subject of contention had arisen which affected the population at large more intimately than the sale of liquor to the Indians. It was the old and ever new conundrum, how to support the clergy.

The Recollets were mendicant monks who lived on the people's alms, but received no salaries. The Jesuits, who succeeded them, lived off their estates and made no demands on the *habitants*. The Sulpicians, as seigneurs of Montreal, were rich, claimed more or less independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and were regarded by the Jesuits with jealousy and by Laval with scant favour. He had not been long in the Colony before he became satisfied that the Jesuit fathers were unfitted to fulfil the functions of the parish priest. He therefore in 1663 established the Seminary and made it fiduciary agent of the funds for the support of a secular clergy. At the same time he ordained the payment of one thirteenth of the products of the soil as tithes. The *habitants* protested, and de Mezy, who was the governor, took sides with the farmers, and submitted their complaints to France. Laval, however, treated this revolt

against his authority in a very different spirit and by different methods to the opposition made against his stand on the brandy question. In the one case the *habitants* were the sufferers; in the other case wealthy corporations and merchants. He recognised a distinction. The one class was deserving of his sympathy. The other was to be closely watched and strictly controlled. In the case of the prohibitive ordinance he only asked of the wealthy what he himself and his poor priests were willing to submit to. The fur merchants must make less profit; the clergy were willing to starve. And that was no idle profession! Therefore in the one case the Bishop was glad to compromise, and in the other not willing to yield an inch. The inflexible stand of the old man in the treatment of these two problems reveals him in his true character. The final settlement of this vexed question on which the stability of the Church, even until our own day, so vitally depends, was not reached until 1707. It is an interesting chapter as illustrating the play of forces, some of them popular, even under such an arbitrary system as that of New France and under the present free constitutional government of Canada. At the same time it is expressive of the stability of faith in the province of Quebec that the oppositions of bygone days to the compulsory payment of tithes, when heresy was a crime, should have disappeared to-day, when exemption can be secured by merely a change of creed. It illustrates the greater hold religion possesses over the human mind when voluntarily adopted than when forcibly imposed.

The Seminary and the system of education practised there have already been described.¹ The revenue for maintaining the Church is derived partly from tithes,

¹ See Chapter XIV., pp. 381-388.

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partly from the revenue on land, ceded long ago to the Church. The Sulpicians of Montreal are so wealthy that they are credited, perhaps incorrectly, with remitting large sums to the parent church in France. The land granted to religious communities before the Conquest reached an acreage of 2,096,734 of which 891,845, owned by the Jesuits, reverted to the public domain.¹ The Church is still one of the largest land owners in the province.

The distribution of the country into parishes was accomplished in 1683, as "a general plan of missions," but it was revised in 1721 by a jurist from France, whose project was found unsatisfactory, owing to his lack of local knowledge. His successor was M. Le Voories, appointed as *Procureur Général* and commissioner. The procedure he adopted illustrates the part assigned to the laity in matters not purely doctrinal or canonical. "The commissioner convened the *habitants* in each parish before modifying its boundaries, and gave due heed to all suggestions and complaints before making his *procès verbaux de commodo et incommodo*."²

Eighty-two parishes were laid out adjacent to both banks of the river; the Church could not support as many parish priests, and more than one parish had to be served by the same *curé*. Outside of these organised parishes the Jesuits, the Recollets, and the Seminary supplied missionaries to the Indians and to the scattered Frenchmen from the Gulf to the Mississippi. Such services, rendered over such an area, could only have been secured by the voluntary and almost gratuitous labours of the regular and secular priests. What Bishop Hamel says of the support of the professors in the Seminary is more or less true of the Catholic par-

¹ Hopkins's *Canada*, ii., p. 549.

² Gosselin, *Saint Vallier*, p. 352.

ochial clergy: "That the voluntary service of the clergy is the greatest income of the Church."

In the seventeenth century the Protestant Churches had not yet awakened to their responsibilities as missionary organisations, and therefore there could not be expected on the part of either the Episcopal Church in Virginia or the Separatist Churches in New England such aggressive missionary efforts as were the glory of the Roman Catholic Church of New France. But in the seventeenth, as in the nineteenth century, religious propagandism was the forerunner of political activity and territorial aggrandisement. The French State claimed and occupied the territory which French priests entered to evangelise, as England's grip on the islands of the South Pacific and Africa has been the inevitable sequence to the labour of her missionaries. The Church and the State in New France co-operated. The modern State generally follows the Church by interfering to protect the missionaries, or exacting vengeance or tribute in territory when they suffer at the hands of the heathen,—one of the anomalies of modern Christianity.

The New England Church made a half-hearted effort to civilise and Christianise the few Indians within their own towns, but neither the Government nor the Church ever contemplated a competition with the French in efforts to spread Christianity over the continent. In fact the organisation of the dissenting Protestant Churches of New England possessed none of the machinery necessary for such extended activities. The elders, it is true, were influential in matters of State: but the congregation was the controlling element. The officers of each church were selected by the members of the congregation. They were presiding officers of merely local bodies, and the Church, as a church, had

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no recognised functions in the State. It helped to build up a constitutional State under representative rule, and to educate the people in self-government. In New France, on the contrary, the Bishop sat at the council table with the Governor and Intendant, and the Church, through its higher ecclesiastics, was a co-ordinate power in the State. But the Church of Rome in Canada, far from encouraging freedom of thought or freedom of action, aided the Government in curbing any feeble aspirations of the colonists in that direction.

In New England the Church, in domestic legislation, was influential as long as the franchise was restricted. Its influence waned under the Charter of William and Mary, which conferred the franchise on freeholders with "estate of freehold in land within the province or territory, to the value of forty shillings per annum at the least." Subsequently there grew up a strong prejudice against any ecclesiastical interference in politics; and the free State has drifted away from the free Church, perhaps to the detriment of both.

From the first landing of the colonists there was active opposition, by a not inconsiderable party, to the pretension of the Church. This increased in intensity with the influx of the mixed population which entered after the establishment of the Commonwealth, when the religious motive for emigrating from Britain was removed. The antagonism to the admission of any features of a State Church into the Federal Constitution of the Republic may be traced back to this source.

The reverse has been the case in Quebec, peopled by the descendants of the colonists of New France. The Church is there still a power within the province, not only because under the Quebec Act it is endowed with some of the privileges of a State Church, but because it is the church of the people and the link between the

traditional past and the actual present. The average citizen of the United States dates the beginning of American history with the signing of the Constitution. The French of Quebec are still Frenchmen at heart, proud of their fatherland, while loyal, from self-interest, to England. A French lady who visited Lower Canada¹ makes the following suggestive reflection on the relations of the French in Canada to England. "Canada reminds me of a widow, who, after a passionate amorous marriage, finds in a second matrimonial experiment the safety, peace and material advantages which result from an alliance with a man of means and sober habits. Her heart, nevertheless, remains in the keeping of her first love, who, despite his faults, worshipped instead of merely respecting and supporting her. She would not, it is true, exchange her present comfortable estate for those joyous days of youthful madness, still she sighs when she thinks of them and even takes pleasure in bemoaning her past sufferings." Family ties are strong and when strengthened by religious obligations, which are believed to be binding, they can be broken only by scattering the members of the group. This the Church wisely exerts its influence and uses its magnificently organised machinery to prevent. It keeps its members who migrate from their parental home and parish still under its pastoral care. The Puritan Church had no such cohesive force. She lost control of the State before the end of the century, long before the Church of Rome ceased to be a recognised political power in Canada. Since then Congregationalism has not been aggressive, nor did its constitution fit it for being a powerful missionary institution; but other elements originating in Puritanism are still formative traits of the national character. Individuals of the New Eng-

¹ Th. Bentzon (Mme. Blanc), *Notes de Voyage*.

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land stock have scattered over the continent in search of more inviting fields for their energy than their old home. They have carried with them not only their strong commercial spirit and inventive faculties, but their love of liberty and adaptability for adjusting their political principles to altered circumstances. They may not respond to the religious teaching of their fore-fathers and would not subscribe to the formulæ of the Cambridge Platform, but their Puritan ideals have leavened the thoughts and aspirations of the millions who, with far different training, have accepted the invitation to enter and share in the bounties of the country, and who are becoming one with the Puritan children as human products of the New World. It would be impossible to measure, by any scale we can apply, the tremendous influence which this Puritan spirit has had on the progress of the country and of the world. The very inconsistency in the attitude of the founders towards the mother country on landing, developing soon into a position of hostility, and leading up to the revolution, is repeated to-day in the reckless courage with which newly constituted communities throw aside the traditional political methods which they have inherited to try new and apparently hazardous experiments in government. This radicalism of the inheritors of Puritanism is in striking contrast to the conservatism of the descendants of the colonists of New France. The Church of the Puritans as a power in the State has disappeared in New England. The Church of Rome is still dominant in the small remnant of the territory of New France, in which the descendants of the Puritans have not replaced the Faithful of New France. Future generations may draw conclusions more correctly than we can, as to the final results.

The ultimate conclusion has not yet been reached as to the effects of these contradictory influences on all phases of national life. The Church in Canada has reared a people with unique qualities, some of them admirable. But the motive has not been towards material advancement or the creation of individual initiative. The Puritan Church in New England seemed to see no incongruity between serving God and making money; and the legislation of the Puritan State encouraged trade and commerce so successfully as to make the Colony a rival of the mother country within half a century after its creation. The inference is that trade which brings the church member into either friendly or competitive contact with the world at large, and with men of many creeds and moral systems, creates liberal views of life, which are destructive of implicit faith in any theological system.

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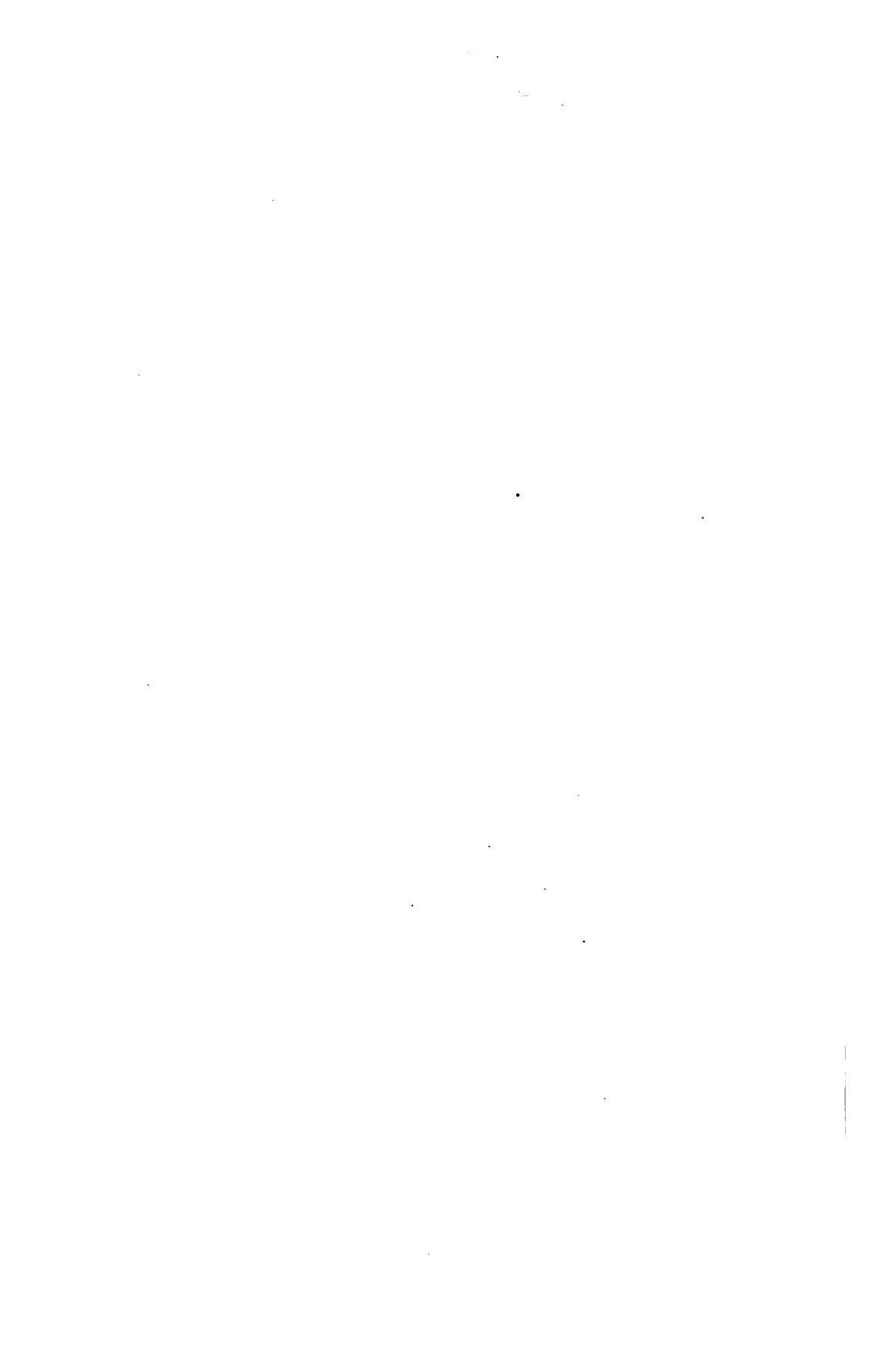
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